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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 72

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2 April 1980

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## Political, Sociological and Military Affairs

No. 72

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<p>ERRATUM: In JPRS 74800, 20 December 1979 No. 43 of this series, pp 93-97 in the article titled "CONTROL OF POPULATION GROWTH NECESSARY TO ACCELERATE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS" please make the following corrections: Page 95, last paragraph, line 4--"increased to" should read "increased by", and page 96, first paragraph, line 8 "1000 persons" should read "10,000 persons".</p>	

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HONG KONG NEWSPAPER DISCUSSES RETIREMENT OF DENG, OTHERS

HK240231 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 24 Mar 80 p 8 HK

[Article by David Chen: "Peking Ponders Formulas for Transfer of Power"]

[Text] The Peking leadership is working out various formulas under which older leaders will relinquish their government posts without actually shedding much of their responsibility and direction of the state.

The process began shortly before the fifth plenary session of the party central committee last month when younger leaders--those in their late 50's or early 60's--were recalled from the provinces to Peking to take up various jobs in the party.

They included Mr Zhao Ziyang of Sichuan, Mr Wan Li of Anhui, Mr Peng Chong of Shanghai and General Yang Dezhi of Kunming.

A secretariat was created at the plenary session to which these younger leaders were appointed.

The reshuffle in the party posts, which included the backing of four Politburo members and the appointment of two members to the Politburo Standing Committee, has been described as an organizational reform.

The organizational changes do not stop at the party structure but are expected to be carried over to the state administration. There have been rumors in the past two weeks that at least three vice-premiers, Mr Deng Xiaoping, Mr Chen Yun and Mr Li Xiannian, will give up their government posts, though still retaining the vice-chairmanship and membership of the Politburo Standing Committee.

Apparently, they are making way for their younger colleagues, notably Mr Zhao, Mr Wan and Mr Peng.

However, except for Mr Wan, who was once railway minister, none of the younger colleagues brought back to Peking has had experience of central administration.

This has prompted a great deal of apprehension both in the country and abroad. It has been pointed out, quite reasonably, that although the leadership quality of the younger people is without question, the sudden departure of such experienced veterans as Mr Deng, Mr Li and Mr Chen from government administration may prompt undue loss of confidence in the leadership.

Knowledgeable sources said the leadership is well aware and appreciative of such apprehension and various ways are being contemplated under which power is transferred without disruptions and without prompting any confidence crisis.

One formula being contemplated is to allow the new leaders to take over the responsible jobs on their own while the retiring vice-premiers give direction from the party organization.

This is not a very satisfactory arrangement. Although it is true that it is the party that gives direction of the running of the state, the presence of the veterans is needed at a time of transition.

At the same time, it will be difficult to surmount the problem of protocol when foreign leaders visit China: should those illustrious men like Mr Deng meet these guests, and if so in what capacity?

It will not be a problem when executives of other communist parties visit China but when state leaders do it will create a protocol problem.

Chairman Mao Zedong, in his last years, received foreign visitors and talked about state affairs--an anomaly that was accepted during his days.

But today China is stressing the need for the separation of party and state and it may be considered inappropriate, to say the least, for a party functionary to receive a state guest.

Another formula being contemplated is the re-creation of the state presidency.

This was a post once held by Chairman Mao and Mr Liu Shaoqi. It was abolished in the cultural revolution when Mr Liu was disgraced. Years after the tumultuous events of 1968-69, the post remained vacant and was abolished altogether in the 1975 revised state constitution.

When the Fifth National People's Congress was convened, the presidency was not revived.

Advocates for the presidency argued that the post should be recreated at the coming session of the NPC, expected to take place in June. And, they argued, no one is better suited to the job than Mr Deng.

Whether Mr Deng will accept that post even if it is created remains to be seen. The duties that go along with the post are [word indistinct], to say

the least, as it would involve a lot of social functions and protocol and time. Time that Mr Deng could utilise in other, more worthwhile pursuits.

The creation of the presidency is nevertheless necessary from the state point of view and its debate should not be mixed with the debate on the succession.

A third formula is the setting up, under the constitution, of an advisory body that will have a say in the administration. This will be a body made up of elderly statesmen whose fountain of experience the younger leaders could draw on.

And the body could well be given more power in influencing the running of the state. To this body, Mr Deng, Mr Li, Mr Chen and possibly other retiring elderly leaders will belong.

While this formula is commendable and perhaps the most feasible there are possible defects. It could be misconstrued as a supreme body over the central government, greatly reducing the powers of those in the government.

No solution is perfect but what is essential is the assurance of the birth of new capable leaders to take over and a smooth transition.

And it appears the third formula is possibly the best solution. In creating the body, there could be imposed a time limit of, say, two or three years after which the body will become defunct. By then, the new leaders will have had enough experience to govern on their own and will also have established themselves.

Among these new leaders, Mr Hu Yaobang, the party secretary-general, has had the most experience in the central leadership and is being groomed to look after party affairs, according to various reports.

In the government, the former Sichuan governor, Mr Zhao Ziyang, is being groomed to take over the mantle of Mr Deng Xiaoping as senior vice-premier. He will probably be made an "executive vice-premier," a title which will confer on him more authority than the other vice-premiers.

There will also be other changes. The defence minister, Marshal Xu Xiangqian, may have to give up the post because of old age and illness. However, his successor has not been ascertained.

General Xu Shiyou, the former commander of the Canton Military Region who has gone to Peking, has been widely tipped to take over the post. However, it is learned that he is also in poor health and is resting in Peking.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### AFGHAN GUERRILLAS CONTINUE ATTACKS ON SOVIETS

#### Guerrillas Attack Soviets

OW151734 Beijing XINHUA in English 1536 GMT 15 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, March 15 (XINHUA)--Afghan guerrillas have chased Soviet troops from two areas in the northeastern province of Konar near the Pakistani border, while the advance of Soviet and Afghan troops was halted in the central province of Ghazni.

According to news reports received here, guerrillas in Ghazni Province used a captured piece of artillery to destroy several tanks and a helicopter. Both the Soviet and Afghan troops and Moslem guerrillas suffered substantial casualties.

Afghan guerrillas ambushed a Soviet patrol in the northern town of Abkul, killing 50 Soviet troops and forcing the remaining soldiers to withdraw to their base at Doshin, according to a UPI dispatch from Islamabad yesterday.

"Baghlan Province (near the Soviet border) is under control of the Mujahedeen (holy war fighters)," the spokesman said. "The Russians are in a few pockets in the province but they are surrounded by the Mujahedeen."

Moslem fighters have taken control of the sub-province of Kohsar in north-western Afghanistan close to the Soviet border. Sixty Afghan soldiers defected during the operation, bringing with them their weapons and ammunition. Twenty Afghan troops defected to the guerrillas during an attack on government forces in Islam Qala in the western province of Herat Wednesday.

Shahi Khan, a leading guerrilla commander, was reported killed in action in Konar Province.

#### Soviet Troops Killed

OW141637 Beijing XINHUA in English 1608 GMT 14 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, March 14 (XINHUA)--Afghan guerrillas have retaken Asmar, an important border town in the eastern province of Kunar, wiping out many Soviet aggressor troops in the fighting, according to foreign press reports.

A UPI dispatch on March 13 quoted a spokesman for the Afghan guerrillas on March 11 in Peshawar, northern Pakistan, as saying that the Soviet forces had retreated from Asmar after suffering heavy losses when trying to land parachute troops sent in as reinforcements. The guerrillas had resumed control of the town after the fighting during which the guerrillas had killed more than 100 Soviet paratroopers, the spokesman added.

He said that more than two thousand guerrilla fighters had taken part in the fighting.

According to an AFP dispatch, guerrillas in Nangrahar Province sabotaged the main power station in Jalalabad on the night of March 11, plunging the local airport used by the Soviet troops into darkness. The airport had been under attack by guerrillas almost nightly over the past few weeks. In that night, the guerrillas killed a group of Soviet soldiers, burned an enemy jeep and captured some rifles outside Jalalabad.

#### More Casualties Inflicted

OW181418 Beijing XINHUA in English 1230 GMT 18 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, March 18 (XINHUA)--Soviet occupation forces and Afghan government troops have suffered heavy casualties in the eastern provinces of Paktia, Nangarhar, Kunar and Ghazni and the southwestern province of Nimroze, according to news reports received here.

A communique issued by the guerrillas at Peshawar on March 16 said that in a clash with Soviet troops at Rabata, Ghazni Province, the guerrillas put out of action some 200 men, destroyed six tanks and shot down three aircraft. They also captured some Soviet paratroopers, and arms and ammunition.

In Paktia Province, the guerrillas continued to engage the Soviet and Afghan government troops, supported by tanks and helicopter gunships. They besieged the military base at Barri, and killed 50 enemy troops.

According to Moslem guerrilla sources yesterday, the guerrillas raided the military base at Kufry in Kunar Province and killed two enemy officers and some soldiers. Seventy-five Afghan troops surrendered to the guerrillas.

The Moslem resistance fighters beat back an attack on their mountain stronghold in Ganjgal District, and inflicted "heavy casualties" on the enemy at Shoonkrai, both in Konar Province.

Guerrillas killed one Soviet officer and some 30 soldiers and took three more prisoner, in Nomroz Province.

Fighting was reported in Nangarhar Province, six kilometres east of the strategic city of Jalalabad. The guerrillas attacked a technical centre and killed six Soviet and 12 Afghan soldiers, according to a guerrilla spokesman.

On March 13, the guerrillas raided a Soviet tank base eight kilometres north of Kabul and put out of action some Soviet troops.



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' QUOTES U.S. REPORT ON SOVIET STAY IN AFGHANISTAN

OW161620 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 16 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, March 16 (XINHUA)--"Soviet commanders have told their troops to expect to stay in Afghanistan for two years," reported a report in THE WASHINGTON POST yesterday, quoting U.S. Government official

"This information from Afghanistan signifies that the Kremlin has concluded it will take at least that long to quell the rebellion in that country, rebuild the Afghan army and install an acceptable government," the report said, adding that "the two-year estimate represents a change, because the Soviets originally hoped to make a quick fix in Afghanistan."

"The recent notification to troops about two-year tours comes on top of other evidence that the Soviets are digging in for a long stay in Afghanistan.

"Understrength units in the Soviet Union near the Afghan border are being beefed up, and war stocks there and in Afghanistan are being increased," sources said.

The report went on to say "The Soviet new battle plan by U.S. reckoning, calls for sending an additional two divisions of 10,000 to 15,000 troops each into Afghanistan soon to start the spring offensive. The buildup will continue until the Soviets have about 130,000 troops in the country, U.S. analysts predict."

"The harder job, they predicted, will be installing a government the Soviets can depend on.

"It is this part of the task, officials reasoned yesterday (on March 14), that impelled the Soviet high command to decide on two year tours for their troops in Afghanistan.

"The prospect of a two-year occupation all but dashes any hopes the Carter administration may have held for a quick Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan," the report stressed.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GENEVA CONFERENCE ON ALTERNATIVE OLYMPICS OPENS

#### Conference Opens

OW180118 Beijing XINHUA in English 0105 GMT 18 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Geneva, March 17 (XINHUA)--A conference on organizing a possible international sports games alternative to the Moscow summer Olympic games scheduled in July opened here this afternoon with the participation of 12 countries.

The participating countries are: The United States, Great Britain, Australia, The Netherlands, Portugal, Kenya, The Sudan, Saudi Arabia, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Canada and the Philippines (the last two as observers).

This conference is being held against the background that more and more countries have declared their boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games in protest against the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan. It was reported that about 50 countries are planning to boycott the Moscow games as the Russian troops are still in Afghanistan.

The minister of state of the British foreign office, Douglas Hurd, told newsmen that the conference will discuss the general situation concerning the Olympics and will deal with a wide range of subjects. It will consider the possible sites for such a sports games. This games will be open to all athletes from various countries.

The United States, Great Britain and Australia are the three countries who have initialled the on-going international conference, which will last until tomorrow afternoon.

#### Conference Ends

OW190116 Beijing XINHUA in English 0106 GMT 19 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Geneva, March 18 (XINHUA)--The two-day international conference on organizing alternative world games to counter the Moscow Olympic games ended here this afternoon.



The conference, attended by representatives from 12 countries, was held at the British and American missions here under the alternative chairmanship of Britain and the United States.

The purpose of the conference, as pointed out by Douglas Hurd, minister of state of the British Foreign Office, was to consider a number of "practical suggestions" concerning the holding of a world scale sports meet after the Moscow games so as to let the athletes of those countries boycotting the Moscow games have an opportunity to compete in various sports events.

Speaking at a press conference at the end of the international conference, U.S. President Carter's special adviser Lloyd Cutler said a number of sites for such events have been considered but no decision has been made since the conference itself is of "preliminary nature." Discussions on the subject with interested parties will continue in the future, he said.

He noted that 25 countries have already stated their positions to boycott the Moscow games, while some 25 more governments have privately expressed their intentions to do so. The U.S. representative declared in explicit terms that U.S. athletes will not go to Moscow this summer in any circumstances because the February 20 deadline set by President Carter for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is well over while the Russian troops remain in that country.

Douglas Hurd noted that with the passing of time, some people tend to forget about Afghanistan. "In fact, the Soviet Union is still committing aggression against Afghanistan," he stressed. "The actual situation has not been changed." He added, "If we wake up overnight only to find that the Russians have decided to withdraw their troops, that will be, of course, a complete new situation." However, he indicated, there have been no signs for such a withdrawal in the coming weeks or months.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SRV PRESS ON INTERNAL RIOT ATTEMPTS

OW151642 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 15 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, March 15 (XINHUA)--The court of Binh Tri Thien Province, Viet Nam, tried on March 6 a group of rebels with the chief offender sentenced to death on charge of trying to start a "conspiratorial rebellion," according to a report from Hanoi quoting the Vietnamese paper NIAN DAN.

The paper said on March 13 that the group had "established rallying centres and liaison points in the cities of Ho Chi Minh and Hue, drafted all kinds of materials calling for riots," "carried out propaganda activities by making use of reactionary and imperialist radio, distorted the line and policies of the Vietnamese Government and recruited reactionary elements in exile abroad."

A number of similar cases were also disclosed by the Vietnamese press last year. The court of Ho Chi Minh City tried a case of "national salvation front" last July. It was said that people of the front "incited backward masses to oppose the government," "waiting for an opportunity to stage a rebellion and seize state power." An article carried in the Soviet magazine INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS said this organization "set up secret strongholds to store weapons and made preparations for forming fighting brigades."

On December 6 last year, the court of Phu Khanh Province cleared a case involving a group "engaging in counter-revolutionary activities." This group was said to have "posted antigovernment leaflets at Cam Phu village and attacked a meeting of local cadres, killing one man and wounding two others" and "formed armed groups for counter-revolution purpose in Nha Trang and Da Lat."

UPI quoted a fleeing Vietnamese refugee as saying that there are armed resistance activities along the areas from Hau Giang to Da Nang. The U.S. paper the BALTIMORE SUN said a number of "Vietcong" joined newly-formed underground organizations because they were disappointed at the communist regime's policy in South Viet Nam and opposed to the control over the government by the north.

AFP and the French paper FRANCE-SOIR quoted a member of the Vietnamese Communist Party seeking political asylum in France as saying that there are 700,000 political prisoners in Viet Nam's prisons and "re-education camps." Tens of thousands of them are dying of hunger and diseases.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FINNISH ORGANIZATION PROPOSES ARCTIC PEACE ZONE

OW140230 Beijing XINHUA In English 0214 GMT 14 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Helsinki, March 13 (XINHUA)--The Finnish peace union has proposed to declare the area within the Arctic Circle to be an international peace zone, according to HELSINGIN SANOMAT.

The proposal, which has been handed in written form to Finnish President Urho Kekkonen and U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, also calls for demilitarization of the area, including the dismantling of all military installations there, and for turning it into a non-nuclear zone.

The union urges all countries concerned to strengthen their cooperation.

The proposal has been made in view of the unstable world situation and the fact that the Arctic area is charged with political tension, the union said in the proposal.

HELSINGIN SANOMAT says that if the proposal were acted upon, it would mean that the Soviet Union had to dismantle its huge military base on the Kola Peninsula and pull out its weapons deployed in northern Siberia.

Meanwhile, the paper says, NATO countries will have to get their weapons out of north Alaska and north Canada.

The proposal also concerns the northern parts of Norway and Sweden and Finland and most parts of Greenland.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SALVADORAN WORKERS PROTEST GOVERNMENT ACTIONS

OW181610 Beijing XINHUA in English 1533 GMT 18 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, March 18 (XINHUA)--A 48-hour general strike called by El Salvador's radical organizations half paralysed the country yesterday, according to reports from San Salvador.

The strike was called to protest government suppression.

In San Salvador, business and industry came to a standstill, bus service was stopped and stores were closed downtown. Several thousand teachers also took part in the strike.

The government moved in military helicopters and sent hundreds of security forces to patrol the city. About 1,000 security forces surrounding the University of El Salvador fought a three-hour gun battle with the radicals occupying the university yesterday.

Clashes were reported between demonstrators and security forces in several parts of the country yesterday, resulting in a death toll of over 60 people. Fighting broke out at "Colima" Ranch, 40 km north of San Salvador, when security forces tried to eject peasants who had occupied it to support the strike. Incidents also took place in the areas of San Martin and San Julian, all near the capital city of San Salvador.

It was also reported that since the government announcement of an agrarian reform on March 9, troops operating with the country's para-military organization "Orden" shot or abducted peasants, razed villages and destroyed crops in Suchitoto and Morazan departments as well as Cuscatlan and Chalatenango. Hundreds of peasants and their families had been killed and many more forced to flee their homes.

It was reported that extreme rightists in the El Salvadoran military forces are opposed to the agrarian reform.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' CITES SWAPO CHAIRMAN ON NAMIBIA

OWJ21620 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 22 Mar 80 OW

[Text] Lagos, March 22 (XINHUA)--The only option left to the Namibians was for them to take up arms and that since this began in 1966, the South West Africa People's Organization had been able to operate with success, said Sam Nujoma, chairman of SWAPO here yesterday.

He told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of Nigeria that diplomatic action would only be a supplement to the guerrilla war SWAPO has waged in Namibia.

The U.N. decolonization plan for Namibia had not been put into effect because of South Africa's refusal to talk to SWAPO and some Western countries' backing to the racist regime, he noted.

Nujoma condemned a number of Western countries for encouraging South Africa by supplying it with military hardwares and giving economic aid as well as diplomatic support.

He urged Nigeria and other African countries to take counter-measures.

Earlier, Nujoma called on President Shehu Shagari and briefed him about the progress of the liberation struggle in Namibia. They discussed further assistance to the freedom fighters struggling to dislodge the racist South African forces.

Nujoma was in Nigeria on a three-day visit.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**NEW SURINAM GOVERNMENT**--Beijing, March 16 (XINHUA)--The new government of Surinam was sworn in yesterday with Henk Chin-a-sen as prime minister and foreign minister, according to a report from Paramaribo. The new cabinet includes 13 ministers, five of them leaders of small parties that had not won any seats in past general elections. Members of the cabinet include Abrahams, minister of economic affairs; Ney Horat, minister of finance, and Frank Leeftang, minister of home affairs. A coup took place in the country on February 25. Military officers who participated in the coup formed a National Military Council headed by Sital and Neede. On February 26, the council asked former Minister Eddy Bruma and lawyer Frank Leeftang to form a cabinet. It was reported that the new government will cooperate with the National Military Council. The new government announced that two coup leaders will be added to the government later to become vice-ministers of defence and police. [Text] [OW160851 Beijing XINHUA in English 0628 GMT 16 Mar 80 OW]

**FRG DEMANDS SOVIET WITHDRAWAL**--Bonn, March 20 (XINHUA)--The most important thing at present is to ask the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, said Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in a government statement at the Bundestag today. The chancellor told the Bundestag, "The Soviet Union has the responsibility of restoring the broken balance by means of the withdrawal." He said, "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has led to a serious international crisis, which has affected the East-West relations in Europe. We hope to lessen the harm done to Europe (by the crisis) together with our allied countries." Since the security of their country lies in an alliance between Europe and North America, he said, the West Germans are most concerned over the unity of the alliance and an extensive and close coordination with all the allies, the United States in particular. "Even in future," he added, "we will do everything the defense policy requires so as to maintain our defense capability and balance of power." "If our partners need to take on other extra tasks, we will act within the framework of the alliance and the basic law and lighten their burden," he said. [Text] [OW211552 Beijing XINHUA in English 1525 GMT 21 Mar 80 OW]

AFGHAN ISLAMIC ALLIANCE PRESIDENT--Islamabad, March 20 (XINHUA)--Sayaf was elected president of the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan, according to an official of the alliance in Peshawar this morning. Sayaf, 36-37, who was put in jail during the Daoud regime was released two or three months ago, he said. He is a great scholar and professor and has taught in Kabul University. [Text] [OW200810 Beijing XINHUA in English 0808 GMT 20 Mar 80 OW]

BULGARIA-MALTA COMMUNIQUE--Valletta, March 15 (XINHUA)--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, left here for home today after a two-day official visit to Malta. Zhivkov had talks with Maltese Prime Minister Dom Mintoff on international issues of common interest and strengthening of the political and economic cooperation between the two countries. A joint communique issued at the end of the visit stressed the necessity of settling outstanding problems through peaceful means in conformity with the principles of international law and the U.N. Charter, and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. It noted that significant possibilities exist for the promotion of trade between the two countries and cooperation in shipbuilding, ship repair, civil aviation, health protection and other fields. [Text] [OW161208 Beijing XINHUA in English 1203 GMT 16 Mar 80 OW]

AUSTRALIAN PORT FACILITIES TO U.S.--Canberra, March 19 (XINHUA)--Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser told parliament yesterday that Australia had offered the U.S. Navy home-porting facilities of the Cockburn Sound Naval Base in western Australia. The prime minister said the offer, which was made during his recent visit to the U.S., was among a number of options being considered by the U.S. Government. "The offer was put on the basis that if this were to be done, considerable investment would probably be required for the kind of facilities needed for the major elements that might be involved," and "that would involve the U.S. expenditure," he said. But Australia would be prepared "to consider a proper participation in that expenditure" if the offer was taken up, he added. At the 29th Anzus Council meeting held last month, the United States, Australia and New Zealand decided to promote their military cooperation in the Indian Ocean so as "to deter further Soviet adventurism." [Text] [OW191602 Beijing XINHUA in English 1550 GMT 19 Mar 80 OW]

BRITISH OFFICIAL IN ROMANIA--Bucharest, March 14 (XINHUA)--Romanian and British foreign ministers have expressed deep concern about the worsening international situation as a result of the implementation of a policy based on strength, trampling underfoot of national independence and state sovereignty and disregard of the people's right to a free life. This was said in a communique released by AGERPRES today on the British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington's 3-day official visit to Romania ending today. During their talks, the communique says, Lord Carrington and Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei extensively exchanged views on the development of world events. They held that it was necessary to rapidly prevent international relations from worsening, solve international crises and restore the policy of detente the world over. They pointed to the need to resolve



international disputes through peaceful means and negotiations on the basis of respect for national independence and state sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and denunciation of the use or threat of force. [Text] [OW150845 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 15 Mar 80 OW]

NATO MANEUVERS IN NORWAY--Beijing, March 14 (XINHUA)--Manoeuvres involving seven NATO countries started today in Troms, Norway, according to a Western news agency report received here today. The six-day "Anorak express" is one of the largest military exercises held in Norway. Eighteen thousand naval, air and ground troops from Britain, Canada, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, the United States and West Germany are taking part in the exercises held some 500 kilometres away from the Soviet border. [Text] [OW161810 Beijing XINHUA in English 1628 GMT 14 Mar 80 OW]

LAOTIAN FLEES TO THAILAND--Beijing, March 15 (XINHUA)--A high-ranking Laotian official has fled Laos into Thailand across the Mekong River to seek political asylum, according to an AP report from Thailand Friday quoting Thai police. Police officials said he was identified as Chompoo Chantanea, director of the Laotian Department of Information. The police officials said Chompoo moored his boat at Tha Bo District, 520 kilometers northeast of Bangkok. [Text] [OW150713 Beijing XINHUA in English 0703 GMT 15 Mar 80 OW]

SWAPO-SOUTH AFRICAN NEGOTIATIONS--Laborong, March 18 (XINHUA)--Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organization, proposes to open up immediate, bilateral negotiations with the South African authorities on the question of an independent South West Africa, according to RAND DAILY MAIL today. In an Amsterdam interview with the South African paper, Nujoma said, "My only precondition is that the negotiations should be about the ending of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia." Nujoma was in Amsterdam for an international seminar dealing with a proposed embargo on sales of oil to South Africa. He described his proposal as "an open offer." He said, "I am ready to begin negotiations anywhere and at any time, tomorrow if he (South African Prime Minister Botha--ed.) likes." He blamed South Africa for the failure to implement a demilitarized zone, saying that SWAPO fully accepted the plan and would adhere to the letter and spirit of a U.N.-supervised ceasefire agreement. [Text] [OW190722 Beijing XINHUA in English 0705 GMT 19 Mar 80 OW]

CSO: 4020



## PARTY AND STATE

### COMMUNISM WILL OVERCOME TODAY'S 'CRISIS OF FAITH'

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 Feb 80 p 4

[Article in "Essay" column by Gu Bing [6253 0393]: "The Theory of the Vitality of Faith"]

[Text] I have many times heard people say that there is now a "crisis of faith," namely, is communism effective or not? This grates on the ears of many comrades.

Actually, however, Marx was accustomed to being doubted. Just think: when the "Communist Manifesto" first appeared, the combined ages of its two authors did not exceed 60 years. How could these brave words, never heard before, fail to cause people to have doubts? Later, more and more people came to believe in Marx. This was because after the doubts came comparisons, and the facts proved that what he said was correct.

The present situation is: we originally viewed our faith as homogeneous and now it has suddenly become heterogeneous. Isn't this a crisis? But a little checking of the facts makes it easy to understand that in our country the sharp increase in people who had faith in Marx, to a nearly homogeneous level, was precisely the masterpiece created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" after 1966. At that time, all "monsters and demons" were thrown to the ground and trampled underfoot, and all "revolutionary comrades" had to chant the quotations and do the "loyalty" dance, asking for instructions from superiors in the morning and reporting back to them in the evening.

In fact, however, there were some people who originally had another faith--for example, a belief in Buddha or other gods, etc. Our original method was to unite them and then expound our doctrine to them, relying even more, of course, on facts to educate them. There is, of course, a struggle between Marxism and theism, but this struggle is not a quick, decisive duel of the Western knight variety. From their first appearance, the Lin Biaos began to smash the images of Buddha, and when they saw people wearing tight trousers they cut the trousers with scissors. Consequently, it was like "when one night the east wind blows, red blossoms appear on thousands of trees," and faith became standardized and homogeneous. Now, in many places we see cigarette smoke curling up and the tight trousers have given way to bell-bottoms. After heaving a sigh, we want to know the origin of these things.

And it is not only this. Some teenagers have no faith--children must be nurtured by education. However, in a twinkling of the eye they graduated from elementary school and then from middle school, and in the end could not even write a letter. Some, even early on, sauntered carelessly along the streets with cigarettes dangling from their lips, and in their hearts they were petty and scheming. With the sad state of affairs, created by those devils, in which they are illiterate and ignorant of science and history, it is very hard for them to form a solid basis for faith! However, those who have always been shut up indoors and who have now been sent out into the great outdoors will grow to maturity truly healthy and sturdy. But in a moment they can be deceived and confused, and their education as well as faith must be supplemented.

Furthermore, there are also some people who have faith, only it is not strong enough. When the revolution encounters difficulties, they have a "crisis of faith." But how could there not be difficulties after the mess made by the "gang of four" for 10 whole years?

By ones, twos and threes problems meet the eye. If we say there is a crisis then it seems as if this is so, particularly with regard to some teenagers whom we ought to do all we can to save, and this matter is urgent.

Yet, we must rely on Marx! In China, people with lofty ideals once believed in Emperor Guang Xu, believed in Washington. After being disappointed, they turned to believe in Marx. Thereafter, the Chinese nation enjoyed good fortune. This is a stupendous historical fact. Those fakes who were made to look genuine prevented the revolution from proceeding smoothly, and the resultant "crisis of faith" is not over yet. But in the end the revolution will be even more overflowing with vitality. This is an indisputable historical fact! Furthermore, we all remember how we were coerced and deceived by Lin Biao and the "gang of four": we did the "loyalty" dance until our sides and backs ached and we dared not crack a joke, we had to eat our meals as if they were religious ceremonies, and the red ocean flooded our homes up to the ceiling and the top of the mosquito nets--in this way our faith was distorted, trampled underfoot and mocked! If one wants to speak of a "crisis of faith," then how would we compare those days with the present? Then there was indeed a crisis! And doesn't the fact that, in the end, the "gang of four" was destroyed show the vitality of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought?

Therefore, I advocate the theory of the vitality of faith!

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### HONG KONG JOURNAL REPORTS ON CCPCC FIFTH PLENUM

HK210022 Hong Kong TUNGHSIANG in Chinese No 18, 16 Mar 80 pp 4-7 HK

[Article by TUNGHSIANG contributing reporter Shih I-ping: "Covering the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee in Beijing"]

[Text] I arrived in Beijing again toward the end of last February. The snow was beginning to thaw in Beijing's early spring but the weather was still pretty cold. However, people were all filled with hope. Looking forward to the opening of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, they all had a feeling that the plenum would make a number of significant decisions which would affect the future political situation and have a bearing on China's future.

The moment I ran into any familiar friends, they generally asked me: "You must have come to cover the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee. You people are really well informed!" I smiled and thought: "It is by no means easy to cover the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee! However, at this important moment, I felt that I ought to personally feel the pulse of Beijing and make a firsthand report to the readers of TUNGHSIANG who are concerned about the political situation of the motherland.

The Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee opened on 23 February. It was originally scheduled to last for 4 days and to close on 26 February. This news, in fact, spread very early among the residents in Beijing. Around the beginning and middle of February, all Beijing units had completed holding their gatherings to convey Deng Xiaoping's important theory "On the current situation and tasks" made at a rally of 10,000 cadres on 16 January. The people's publishing houses had also printed the report into booklets for internal circulation. People all envisaged that the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee would adopt some specific resolution in the spirit of the report.

The Busiest Person in Beijing: Wang Guangmei

Who was the busiest person in Beijing during the period? I think the late State Chairman Liu Shaoqi's widow Wang Guangmei should occupy first place. After her discharge from prison last year and following a short rest, she has surfaced again and assumed the post as director of the Foreign Affairs

Bureau of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Entrusted by the CCP Central Committee, she has been working day and night the past few months writing relevant material regarding the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi. At the same time, she has also written for the forthcoming book "Cherishing the Memory of Comrade Liu Shaoqi" the 20,000-character article "He Was a Communist Party Member" in memory of her deceased husband. Because of this heavy work, she has sometimes had to work diligently in the evening until 0500 the next morning. In addition, she has also had to receive visitors from all places including press reporters, relatives and friends. She has really been too busy to attend to anything else. It was probably because she had to stay up late at night that she looked quite haggard.

The originally scheduled time for the conclusion of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee was the evening of 26 February. However, there was no promulgation of a communique, which somewhat worried the people. Yet, the worry was very quickly dispelled--and the grapevine news spread very quickly. It was said that the plenum was extended at the last moment because of the extremely heated discussions. On the afternoon of 29 February, the staff and workers in the hotel where I stayed were passing the message that there would be important news broadcast at 2000 this evening.

Sure enough, at 2000 the radio began broadcasting the communique of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee. I put my radio in my overcoat pocket, plugged in my earphone and went outside. The attendants all looked at me curiously, because the weather was particularly cold that evening. It was very dark all around and the chilly wind blew against my face. I listened and observed while I walked. Although the streetlights were dim, I could still see that many pedestrians had gathered around loudspeakers on the streets. They were all absorbed in listening to the communique.

On the same evening and in the next few days, in the hotel or in my friends' houses, the communique of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee was the principal subject of discussion. What was most talked about was the official rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi.

[HK210026] Anyhow, the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi was to be expected. Before the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, the PRC press had started addressing Liu Shaoqi as "comrade" once again. HONGQI wrote an article "Depending on the Self-cultivation of a Communist Party Member," book stores put up notices about publishing "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi" and Deng Xiaoping also said in his talk that Liu Shaoqi's reputation would be restored very soon. Nevertheless, the issue was still frequently talked about.

"Why did Mao Zedong want to drag Liu Shaoqi down? Did he really think at that time that Liu Shaoqi was a revisionist? Or was it purely because he wanted to seize back his lost power?"

"How did Lin Biao, the 'gang of four' and Kang Sheng frame Liu Shaoqi?"

"How was Liu Shaoqi persecuted to death...?"

## A Touching Article by Liu Shaoqi's Sons and Daughters

The article jointly written by Liu Shaoqi's five sons and daughters, "Thinking of Our Late Father With Redoubled Affection Amid Cheers of Victory" carried in the 2 March Beijing GONGREN RIBAO, recalled what had happened to their family during the cultural revolution. It was a very touching article, and the newspaper was sold out very quickly. I noticed that some female attendants in the hotel were in tears while they read it.

Why was such an outstanding personality who had served the state and the people with utter devotion falsely accused as "renegade, hidden traitor and scab" and as a result ruthlessly tortured to death? Why was a party vice chairman and state chairman dismissed from his offices and arrested without having gone through any legal procedures at all? What measures should China adopt to insure that such grave injustices will never happen again...? From among people's talks, feelings and expressions, I tried my best to explore their heartfelt wishes as well as the fundamental reasons the issue of Liu Shaoqi was most frequently talked about.

The communique of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee noted: "The rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi by the 5th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee is not just for his own sake. It is for the purpose of engraving this bitter lesson permanently in the minds of the party and the people so that every effort will be made henceforth to safeguard, consolidate and perfect socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, so frameups such as the one which befell Comrade Liu Shaoqi and many other comrades inside and outside the party shall never happen again and so that our party and state shall never change their colors." This has indeed manifested the masses' heartfelt wishes. The grave injustice which befell Liu Shaoqi was the greatest frameup in the history of the CCP. Certainly it drew people's concerns because it was surreptitious, tragic and savage, and made a great stir. What was most important, however, was that it concerned the state's system and also the development and future of the Chinese nation.

## Mao Zedong's Responsibility

Nevertheless, I noticed that what was said in the communique was mainly aimed at [the] future. Yet, I think the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi also has its own current significance. It was not for the sake of restoring Liu Shaoqi's personal reputation or of not letting Liu Shaoqi's sons, daughters and other relatives be treated with discrimination and disdain. The fact was that Liu Shaoqi himself represented a line, a number of policies and a large number of cadres. The line was that of the eighth party congress, which the CCP has now fully restored and developed; the large number of cadres were those who suffered criticisms and struggles during the cultural revolution and who have surfaced again following the eradication of the "gang of four." If Liu Shaoqi had not been officially and completely rehabilitated, then the large number of cadres who had implemented



Liu Shaoqi's line would still have a dark shadow in their minds and there would be great difficulty in completely dispelling their "lingering fear," no matter how hard the new leadership in Beijing repeatedly emphasized emancipating people's minds and seeking truth from facts. This could be a great obstacle to modernization. Now the roots of their "lingering fear" have been completely removed. Actually such feelings were unintentionally revealed among the many cadres I was in touch with.

However, there were still controversies on one issue--Mao Zedong's responsibility in the frameup which befell Liu Shaoqi. Visiting a friend one day, I happened to run into a debate.

[HK210028] When referring to the incident that touched off the cases of Liu Shaoqi, the communique of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee noted: "Because the appraisal on the eve of the Great Cultural Revolution of the situation in the party and the country was contrary to fact, an entirely wrong and groundless inference was made asserting that there was a counterrevolutionary revisionist line within the party. It was also asserted that there was a so-called bourgeois headquarters headed by Comrade Liu Shaoqi..." "The party committed a distressingly serious mistake during the Great Cultural Revolution, a mistake that was used by counter-revolutionary careerists Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.' This resulted in a serious consequence unprecedented in the history of the party." In the first passage quoted, the main subject was concealed. However, everyone knows that it was Mao Zedong who made "the appraisal which was contrary to fact." The main subject in the second passage quoted was "the party."

A young university student said with great resentment: Why can we not mention Mao Zedong by name? If they keep on covering things up like this without seeking truth from facts, people will never feel free from inhibitions. However, my friend held that this view was too radical. They were having a heated argument when I arrived. They, therefore, asked me to decide which side was right. I smiled and said: "I am not a match for you regarding the understanding of the situation. I can, therefore, only venture to talk about my shallow views. I think the manner of writing of the communique has already clearly laid bare the true essence which led to the frameup which befell Liu Shaoqi. Thus, we cannot say that it was not seeking truth from facts. As for the concealment of Mao Zedong's name, here we must consider not only the possible acceptance currently of home but also the possible acceptance by our friends in international circles. It is desirable that they see things from the angle of the overall situation and adopt a prudent attitude. On the other hand, as the top man, Mao certainly had to assume important responsibility regarding the emergence of the frameup which befell Liu Shaoqi. However, if we look at it from a comprehensive and long-term perspective, is it not of even greater current significance to have the party bear the responsibility and attach importance to analyzing the ideological source and social background for the emergence of the mistake instead of purely looking into personal responsibility?"

## The Inside Information About the Dismissal of the 'New Gang of Four'

It was probably because I was a guest from Hong Kong-Macao and they thought it unsuitable to refute my argument and, therefore, just let me get by. Our subject of discussion next turned to the dismissal of the "new gang of four" of Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Chen Xilian and Wu De. It was, of course, to the joy of all people. A large burden on the minds of the people was thus removed. Following the eradication of the 'gang of four,' senior statesmen like Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying have shown a dashing spirit in correcting past mistakes, settling accounts for the ultraleftist line and building the four modernizations. The policies are to the will of the people. However, there has always been a traditional phenomenon in Chinese society where the policies and regulations of an organization shift with the change of the persons in charge. Wang Dongxing and the other people scored meritorious achievements during the smashing of the "gang of four" because the situation compelled them to do so. They were upstarts during the cultural revolution, had close relations with the "gang of four" and created innumerable frameups during the cultural revolution. They were still maintaining the ultraleftist line of the cultural revolution and were all the time "seeing which way the wind blew in order to achieve their evil ends." However, for the sake of stability and unity, Hua, Deng and Ye allowed them to continue to remain in the policy decision echelon for 3 years. Since they are generally younger than the senior statesmen of the practice group, people cannot say for sure that one day when Deng and Ye go to join Marx, there will not be a restoration again over the land of China in the style of the "gang of four." This is a general worry for the people of Beijing as well as throughout the whole country. The political fantasy fiction "A Tragedy Which Might Occur in the Year 2000" published in BEIJING ZHICHUN last autumn was, in fact, a manifestation of this state of mind.

Now that Wang Dongxing and others have been eradicated from the leadership of the central authorities, I have discovered what the people's general reaction was: We can now have a breathing spell.

[HK210011] However, because there was still one thing which I did not understand, I therefore consulted my friend: The serious mistakes which Wang Dongxing and others committed probably referred to their obstructing Deng Xiaoping from surfacing again, opposing the reversal of verdicts on the Tiananmen incident, withholding the circulation of ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN, resisting the mass debate on the criterion of truth and also attacking the line of the third plenum of the CCP Central Committee at the work conference of the CCP Central Committee last April. Nevertheless, all these things occurred before last September. As a matter of fact, Wang Dongxing made a self-criticism at a Politburo meeting last September, and the fourth plenum of the CCP Central Committee held last September also did not dismiss him from his offices. So why was he not dismissed till now? Were there new problems that had arisen?

## Wang Dongxing Dished Up a Large Number of Unjust Cases

This pretty well-informed friend of mine told me that the examples I cited above constituted merely part of those things which had been brought into the open. The "new gang of four" were all very dishonest, especially Wang Dongxing. During the cultural revolution, he was deputy leader of the special cases investigation group of the central authorities, and Kang Sheng was the advisor. It is indeed difficult to tell just how many unjust cases he had personally dished up. After the eradication of the "gang of four," the central authorities ordered that all unjust cases be reinvestigated. He should, of course, have actively assumed the responsibility, reversed the incorrect verdicts on those cadres who had suffered all kinds of tortures and made arrangements for their reinstatement. However, what actually happened really made people indignant. Making use of the powers of the general office of the CCP Central Committee and also of the special cases investigation group under his control, not only did he do everything possible to obstruct the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, but he actually stepped out and obstructed the rehabilitation and reinstatement of Peng Zhen, Peng Dehuai, Tao Zhu, Bo Yibo, Lu Dingyi, the "case of the group of 61 renegades" and nearly all senior cadres. At the same time, he also disagreed with many policies which observed economic laws such as those regarding rural private plots, village trade fairs, the introduction of foreign capital and technology and also joint ventures using Chinese and foreign capital. He rendered himself a great obstacle to the implementation of all reasonable measures.

At the central Politburo meeting in the middle of last September, Wang Dongxing and others made self-criticisms and apologized to Deng Xiaoping and others. They said they would begin their work anew. However, their deeds did not match their words. "What had they done?" I could not help asking. My friend did not give me a direct reply but said: "You probably noticed some commentaries in the Beijing newspapers before the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee?"

"Oh!" I understood immediately. "You mean the RENMIN RIBAO commentator's article 'Develop a Political Situation of Stability and Unity' and also the BEIJING RIBAO article 'A Communist Must Politically Keep in Accord With the CCP Central Committee.' Right?"

My friend smiled and said: "You are certainly perceptive!"

Here let me quote some passages from the above articles for our readers' reference. The BEIJING RIBAO article pointed out: "The ideas and stands of some party members are incorrect due to the deep influence of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four...' Some people have blamed our party for problems arising from sabotage by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and have grasped some existing specific problems to negate the line, principles and policies laid down by the party. Moreover, a handful of party members have gone so far as to violate party discipline by engaging in non-party activities and by openly inciting opposition to the party line."



The RENMIN RIBAO commentator's article pointed out: "We must not underestimate the capabilities of the remnants of the 'gang of four'; otherwise, we will make mistakes." "In accordance with their respective understanding of their mistakes and manifestations of repentance, we should help more people by educating them and narrow the target of attack regarding those who once followed Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and committed serious political mistakes. However, we must seriously handle those persons who have shown no signs of repentance, still upheld the ideas of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and resist the implementation of the spirit and policies of the third plenum of the CCP Central Committee, since to tolerate evil is to abet it."

It seemed that the above statements constituted the guiding principle of the reshuffle in the Politburo.

#### [BE210033] Solving the Problem Regarding the Aging of the Leadership

Another subject of discussions among the Beijing masses and cadres was the promotion of Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang as Politburo Standing Committee members as well as the reconstituted secretariat of the CCP Central Committee. This was mainly a solution to the problem of successors right in the core of party leadership, thus insuring the long-term stability of the future policies of the "practice group." At a forum of the Beijing Democratic League, the renowned sociologist Fei Xiaotong specifically and vividly pointed out the significance of the measure: "None of the socialist countries has been able to do a good job in solving the problem regarding leadership successors.... We must prevent the policies and regulations of an organization shifting with the change of the person in charge. The Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee has now solved the problem in the system. Since the liberation of China, the number of China's leaders has diminished while their ages have continued to grow. The aging of the leadership is a current problem. The newly elected members of the Secretariat are all just over 60, with the exception of Song Renqiong. The average age has suddenly become 10 years younger. The plenum has made a fine start in this respect. This is a pleasing new phenomenon."

The Politburo Standing Committee members and secretaries of the Secretariat elected at the plenum are all men of action who have demonstrated their outstanding talents in the past few years. The masses of Beijing are all happy to accept them. Hu Yaobang and Wan Li are especially welcomed among them. Hu Yaobang's achievements in his official career in the past 3 years are known by all. Wan Li was vice mayor of Beijing and acted on behalf of Peng Zhen in taking charge of the daily governmental affairs before the cultural revolution. His outstanding talents have still left a deep impression on the people of Beijing.

While strolling in the streets of Beijing, I seemed to feel that the citizens there were wearing an even happier expression and that they were more at ease. The Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee had been like a gust of spring wind, bringing the masses hope for the motherland and also confidence in realizing the four modernizations.

## Zhao Ziyang Shall Become First Vice Premier

It was said that the third plenary session of the Fifth SPC will be held very soon. An important topic for discussion at the plenary session will be reshuffling the personnel of the cabinet in accordance with the keynote of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee. What will particularly draw people's attention is that Deng Xiaoping shall not be concurrently first vice premier. In this way, he can rid himself of the tedious daily routines and concentrate his attention on studying problems concerning the overall situation and orientation encountered by the party and state in the course of modernization. His duties will be taken up by the capable, experienced, keen and outstandingly talented Zhao Ziyang.

A friend in Beijing summarized the significance of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee in this way: If we say the Third Plenum of the CCP Central Committee at the end of 1978 was a turning point of the CCP in thoroughly correcting past mistakes in political thinking, then the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee was a milestone in thoroughly correcting past mistakes in organization.

This was, in fact, true. All the measures of the Fifth Plenum of the CCP Central Committee could be summed up in one statement: facing the heavy tasks of modernization, it is necessary that the CCP strengthen and improve its leadership. This explains that the Beijing leadership has faced up to its own shortcomings and has adopted remedial measures. Frankly speaking, to realize modernization in China, it is not possible to go without the leadership of the communist party. It is also not possible if the communist party leadership is not improved. It is exactly from this angle that people have seen the particularly great significance of the Fifth Plenum.

As a departed after some 10 days in Beijing, I seemed to feel that the heart of China is beating even more vigorously.

CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### CALL ISSUED FOR UNITY OF ARMY AND PEOPLE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 16 Jan 80 p 1

[Article: "Shanghai CCP Municipal Committee Issues Notice: Broadly Launch Activity To Support the Army and Government and Cherish the People"]

[Text] On 10 January, the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee issued a "Notice on Broadly and Deeply Launching Activity Supporting the Army and Their Families and Supporting the Government and Cherishing the People." The notice said that the CCP Central Committee recently decided to comprehensively and deeply launch [activity to] support the army and army families, support the government, and cherish the people. The scope of this activity should be greater and more enthusiastic than in previous years, and the work should be more careful and down-to-earth than in previous years. At present all the people of China are concentrating their energies and wholeheartedly carrying out the socialist Four Modernizations, and doing this work well in this new historic period has a very important significance for consolidating and developing a stable and unified political situation, strengthening national defense, opposing aggression, overcoming difficulties, and guaranteeing smooth realization of the Four Modernizations.

The notice said that we should carry out widespread and in-depth propaganda and education on supporting the army and cherishing the people. The PLA is a defender of our great fatherland and of the interests of the people. Whether in the years of long revolutionary struggle or in the period of resisting America and helping Korea, or in participating in and defending socialist revolution and socialist construction, it has performed great achievements. But because of the pernicious influence of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and because of defects in our work, some people often can see only defects or questions of the army or the local area, and either forget or do not understand that under the leadership of the party, the glorious tradition of the army loving the people and the people supporting the army, the unity of the army and people, took shape over a long period of time, even influencing to different degrees the unity of the army and government and the army and people. Thus we should devote a period of time in carrying out conscientiously among the cadres, masses and political instructors, thought education for supporting the army, supporting

the government and cherishing the people, and strengthening the unity of the army, government, and people. In education activity, cities, districts, and counties should call meetings to support the army and government and cherish the people through an alliance of party, government and army, and leadership comrades should make mobilization reports. Offices, units and military units stationed in Shanghai should organize the cadres and masses to study conscientiously the relevant documents from the CCP Central Committee, truly evoke serious concern from an ideological standpoint, unfold a vigorous campaign to support the army and the government and cherish the people, and strengthen the unity of the army and government and the army and people.

The notice said that in supporting the army and government and cherishing people, local areas and army units should strengthen army-government and army-people unity self-consciously and on their own initiative. Local and army leadership comrades should appear personally and guide the responsible persons from relevant areas to make visits and to hold informal discussions and solicit opinions. They should treat questions on "three supports and two militaries" from a historical perspective. During the Great Cultural Revolution, due to the mad destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," local party and governmental organizations were brought to a standstill; beating, smashing, and looting became the fashion; and the entire nation was in the anarchic state of "all-out civil war." Under these severe conditions, the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao, and Premier Zhou decided the PLA would carry out the "three supports and two militaries" mission, which at the time played an important role in stabilizing the situation with important results. The overwhelming majority of people who participated in the "three supports and two militaries" were good or relatively good. They had some problems in their work, mostly created by the disruption and destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Local comrades should not be overcritical of them, but should adopt an attitude of forgiveness. Leftover questions of land and housing should gradually and satisfactorily be resolved by local and unit leadership agencies, in accordance with the relevant CCP documents and in the spirit of seeking truth from facts through joint consultation. We should look ahead in unity and carry out the Four Modernizations in unity.

The notice said that we should warmly express sympathy for the people's own army. During the Spring Festival period, the Municipal People's Government will send a letter of sympathy to officers and men stationed in Shanghai and to families of servicemen killed in the line of duty, disabled revolutionary servicemen, and demobilized and retired servicemen. A select group should be organized to convey sympathy to leadership agencies above the level of division of troops stationed in Shanghai, to troops stationed on the islands, to military hospitals, and to civil aviation, public security and baogang [1405 6921] engineers. On the eve of the Spring Festival, cities, districts, and counties should hold a joint army-people celebration.

The notice said that in undertaking widespread and deep activity in support of the army, we must conscientiously do good work, giving special care to disabled, demobilized, and retired servicemen. Firms, enterprises, and

grassroots-level units, depending on their circumstances, should pledge to support the army and military dependents. Workers', youth, and women's mass organizations should initiate mass and youth activity to do good things on a widespread basis for dependents of servicemen killed in the line of duty, for disabled revolutionary servicemen, and for old Red Army soldiers. People's government offices and relevant units at various levels should conscientiously investigate the execution of the policy toward devoting special care to disabled, demobilized, and retired servicemen.

In conclusion, the notice said that, in actively supporting the army and government and cherishing the people, we should definitely keep up the excellent traditions of hard work and plain living and resolutely oppose extravagance and waste. All necessary expenditures should be calculated carefully and budgeted strictly in order to be as economical as possible. We should heighten our vigilance, strengthen combat readiness, and be on strict guard against destruction and disruption by the enemy.

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CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### EDITORIAL CALLS FOR ACTIVITIES TO SHOW SUPPORT FOR ARMY

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 3 Feb 80 p 1

[Editorial: "More Effectively Carry Out Activities To Support the Army"]

[Text] The Shanghai People's Spring Festival Sympathy Mission to support the army began yesterday. It is a glorious tradition of our party to launch, at the time of the Spring Festival, activity to support the army, and the army and people celebrate victory together, express mutual concerns, and improve unity. Now the party, army, and people are all wholeheartedly engaged in the Four Modernizations, and at such a time it is of even greater significance and excitement for the elected representatives of the people of Shanghai to express sympathy for the PLA, to express sympathy for the families of servicemen killed in the line of duty, to express sympathy for disabled revolutionary servicemen, and to express sympathy for demobilized, retired and specialized servicemen.

The Chinese PLA is the loyal defender of the great fatherland and the interests of the people. In the great enterprises of socialist revolution and socialist construction, our troops have always been in the frontline of battle and have made many great achievements in the smashing of the conspiratorial clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and in the defensive counterattack against Vietnam they rendered an outstanding service for the party and people. Our troops are not ashamed to be people's troops armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Without such people's troops, there would be nothing of what the people have.

For a long time the people of Shanghai and the Chinese PLA stationed in Shanghai, working together with one heart and fighting shoulder to shoulder, have established a close relationship and a firm unity. We will never forget the brave sacrifices made by the PLA protecting the city and people when Shanghai was liberated, and the strict military discipline of sleeping in the open and not committing the slightest offense against civilians. We will never forget how, in the struggle to defend and build a new socialist Shanghai, the PLA carried on the glorious tradition of hard work and plain living and performed meritorious service. We will never forget that when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant, the army and people of



Shanghai united and won victory after victory in the struggle with counter-revolutionary conspirators who created divisions, created disturbances locally and among the troops, and destroyed the unity of the army and people. We will never forget that after the "gang of four" was smashed, the PLA revived and carried on the glorious tradition of supporting the government and cherishing the people, and with feelings of deep friendship for the people of Shanghai they vigorously supported industrial and agricultural production and key engineering construction, actively participated in helping out in emergencies and providing disaster relief, strengthened police patrols, maintained social order, and made new contributions to constructing and defending the Four Modernizations. Facts have proven that all the victories won by Shanghai are inseparable from the diligent efforts of the officers and men of the PLA units stationed in Shanghai. Recently, the people of Shanghai have started to study the exemplary Communist and army doctor Lu Shicai [0712 1102 2088]. The scale of achievement and the lofty ideals of Comrade Lu Shicai's devotion to the Four Modernizations have established a new model for the people of Shanghai to study. The soldiers of the people's own army are definitely most precious to us and are most worthy of our study.

Today we are in the process of implementing the great and enormous Four Modernizations. We now have a stable and unified political situation and an advantageous international environment. But we must also note that recently the Soviet Union has further seriously escalated aggression abroad, flagrantly sending troops to occupy Afghanistan, and the international situation is not relaxed but rather is even more turbulent. At home a very small minority who are hostile to socialism are always trying to destroy stability and unity and destroy the Four Modernizations, so we definitely cannot lower our guard. This demands further strengthening of the unity of the army and the people. The closer our unity, the greater our strength and the more assured the Four Modernizations. We should even more self-consciously have deep love for the PLA, support and study the PLA, and with all our strength uphold the modernization of the PLA.

The CCP Central Committee and the Shanghai Municipal Committee recently issued a notice concerning further strengthening the unity of the people and the PLA and broadly and deeply launching activity to support the army. Each unit should be closely united with reality and profoundly criticize the crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in trying to smash the army, disorganize the army, and destroy the unity of the army and the government and the army and the people, so that cadres and the masses will clearly understand the important significance of strengthening military construction and strengthening the unity of the army and government and the army and people under new historical conditions. We should pay attention to using the heroic deeds in the defensive counterattack against Vietnam, and the stirring example of how the army stationed in Shanghai supports the government and cherishes the people, in order to teach the masses and organize the broad cadres and masses to begin to study Comrade Lu Shicai and use the good thought, good work style, good experience, and good traditions of the PLA to encourage everyone to engage wholeheartedly in the Four Modernizations. At the time of

the Spring Festival we should hold joint celebrations of the army and the people and do sympathy work well. Each firm, enterprise, and grassroots-level unit should broadly arouse the masses to pledge to support the army as suits the circumstances, and mobilize the masses and the youth to begin extensively to do good deeds for the families of servicemen killed in the line of duty, for disabled revolutionary servicemen, and for old Red Army soldiers. Through constant supervision of the situation of support for the army, further establish a policy of giving special care to disabled servicemen and their families, do a good job of making arrangements for disabled, demobilized and specialized servicemen, and have enthusiastic concern for the production and lives of the objects of this special care. Work supporting the army should be gradually made mass, constant and systematic.

Everyone has a responsibility to support the army. This year's work in support of the army should be more widespread, more enthusiastic, and more down-to-earth. Let the glorious tradition of the unity of the army and government and the army and people be further developed so that the flowers of unity of the army and government and the army and people will be a riot of color in the first spring of the eighties!

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### REGIMENT'S 'GUIDED MISSILE EXPERT' APPLAUDED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY] in Chinese 16 Sep 79 p 2

[Article by Wu Qingyin [0702 1987 6892] and Chen Jinsong [7115 6855 2646]: "Herdsman Turned Into 'Guided Missile Expert': Report on the Growth of Commander Zhang Wen of a Certain Guided Missile Regiment"]

[Text] In the launching area, a new-type strategic guided missile, product of our own research and manufacture, stood upright on the launching pad; as it shone with brilliance in the sun, it looked especially heroic and magnificent. At the foot of the launching pad, a commanding officer in his 40's was organizing and directing his unit in a drill. He would step in front of the sight to check aiming accuracy and then walk into the control vehicle to observe the way the various indicator-lights showed the prevailing situation. He looked very sharp and well seasoned in his work...

In these days when we are all looking forward to observing the 30th anniversary of our National Day, we have just paid a visit to the commander of a certain guided missile regiment, Comrade Zhang Wen [1728 2429], who has been praised by the masses as a "guided missile expert."

Zhang Wen is a first-generation basic-level commanding officer of a guided missile unit trained by our army. In the 1950's Comrade Mao Zedong issued the battle order, "We are now stronger than in the past, but in the future we shall be even stronger than today. We must not only have more planes and guns but also the atom bomb. In the world of today, we cannot afford not to have it if we don't want to be bullied by others." Shortly thereafter, the first guided missile unit of our army came into being.

Taking exceptional care of this new unit, the party proceeded step by step to select superior commanding officers from other units to make up the core staff of this unit. At the end of 1958, the organization decided to send young artillery company commander Zhang Wen to the unit's school for additional study. After a year and a half there, he was sent to the missile institute for further study. On the eve of his departure, his old superior told him in a heavy and meaningful tone, "Young fellow, do your

duty well; acquire more real capability. We rely on you to master modern advanced weapons in the future. We place our hope in you!" The admonition and trust of the party organization and the hearty encouragement of his comrades-in-arms made Zhang Wen infinitely grateful and excited. This herdsman from the old society, a poor child who had never gone to school even one day, thus quietly made up his mind never to disappoint the party. He was determined to report back to the party and the people with the most exceptional results of study. What Zhang Wen studied were the specialized tasks of missile-launching. For someone who had just come from a short-term middle school, the difficulties involved can be easily imagined. But, with stubborn perseverance, he diligently tackled these specialized tasks and ultimately overcame all difficulties in his study, achieving the good result of 98 points in the examination for graduation. After graduation, he was assigned to a newly established guided missile fencui to serve as deputy commander of the launching company.

When Zhang Wen first arrived at the guided missile unit, an adverse anti-China current was being whipped up in the international arena. The Khrushchev renegade clique had reneged on us by tearing up agreements and withdrawing its experts in a vain attempt to get a stranglehold on our neck and choke our young guided missile unit in its cradle. Zhang Wen suppressed his anger and led everybody to use their heads and to come up with solutions. Where teaching materials were lacking, they compiled them themselves; where illustrations and charts were lacking, they drew them up themselves; and where equipment was lacking, they used radishes, loess and wood burls to make various molds and used iron bands and plywood to make large models. By using these makeshift articles for operation, manipulation, and coordination drills, they laid a foundation to later conduct such drills on actual equipment. Not long thereafter, equipment we manufactured was gradually provided to the unit. Zhang Wen and his comrades-in-arms were filled with even greater confidence, and their enthusiasm for drill was also heightened.

Along with the development of advanced scientific and technological activities in the area of national defense, the guided missile unit gradually grew and expanded. As commander of the launching company, Zhang Wen soon shouldered the leading tasks of the launching battalion and launching regiment in succession, with the types of missiles he had previously studied now replaced by new ones. Changes in weapons and equipment and changes in his duties made him realize that the specialized theories and command capabilities he originally had would now be far from meeting current demands. In order to remain a qualified commanding officer, the only way was to study diligently. At the time, therefore, he would ask anyone who had anything to offer in his specialty and who had proved to be better than he to become his teacher and he would learn humbly from him. Deputy platoon leader of the third company's aiming platoon [miaozhunpai] Wu Shusheng [0702 2579 3932] was an expert in aiming. Zhang Wen therefore consulted him regularly on optical principles and the basics of aiming.

In order to understand sighting discrepancies clearly and methods to calculate adjustments, he studied the relevant parts of higher mathematics and optics himself, frequently using the sighting instruments to calculate a little and aim a little. He then took down the important points of such aiming checks in detail to be able to go over them whenever he had time. When he tackled the specialty of control, he also consulted several old hands. Professionally trained section chief Huang and staff officer Tian had basic capability in this specialty of control. Zhang therefore went to their dormitory many times to ask them to tutor him on stabilization control systems and on the composition, function and operational principles of the range control systems. He also asked the fighter who served as spotter, little Huang, many times to explain this operational procedure. When experts from scientific research units came for a visit, he would bring up special theories he still did not understand and ask all sorts of questions until everything was made clear to him.

Just as Zhang Wen was studying hard and getting deep into military technology, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" stirred up one gust after another of sinister wind against the pursuit of military and technical studies. Things were clear in Zhang Wen's own mind. One could acquire the art of command and the techniques of operation by study and by practice. Without study and practice and without knowledge and techniques, how was anyone to send such a huge complicated thing into the sky? In those years, not only did he himself keep up with his studies without fail, but he also joined with other cadres in the regiment to actively organize the unit to pursue the study of special theories and to do operation drills on actual equipment. In order for he himself to achieve an overall grasp of the laws of guided missile launchings and thereby further improve his organization and command capabilities, Zhang Wen looked up many sets of charts and drawings, volumes of professional teaching materials and operational regulations to conduct systematic study and research. On the pages of these special theoretical works of several hundred thousand words, he made circles and dots and drew many red lines. Where key passages were involved, he would note important points and explanations. He also jotted down command procedures, important point checks, difficulties in training and certain important figures in a small notebook which he would carry with him and take out to glance at and memorize whenever he had time. During every exercise by the units, he would invariably observe carefully what problems had emerged in the course of an operation, what causes had contributed to their emergence, what snags had been encountered in the equipment used, how they could be eliminated, and what experiences and lessons there were in organization and commanding work--and he would note them all down. He would also use these lively examples to educate the units. What painstaking efforts those 5 or 6 volumes of precious data had cost him!

Success never eludes one who has a will. After several years of hard work, Zhang Wen was ultimately turned from an ordinary basic-level

artillery cadre into a competent commanding officer of the guided missile launching regiment. He is now familiar with all 22 big and small tasks of the launch site. Hence he is adept at handling organization and command work at his level. He is able to do well whether organizing an operations drill or directing the launching of an actual missile. No instrument functioning abnormally and no operator acting erroneously can escape his eyes. Once when the missile was already loftily erect on the launching pad and the operation's process had already reached the last 10 minutes of the countdown, Zhang Wen issued an oral command [to hold] and briskly walked to the control vehicle where he checked the time setting on the contact indicator and discovered that the assistant operator had put the main 15-second preset command indicator at 0.5 seconds less than the prescribed numerical value. He understood that with the time set a half a second slower, the operating time of the m. in engine would be prolonged and that this would create an error in the range. He therefore made a swift decision and ordered that the charge be taken off the flight batteries and that they be recharged and tuned the way they were supposed to be, which insured the firing accuracy of the guided missile. The fighters hailed him, saying that he had stored all those figures in his head; he was really a guided missile expert! In the first spring after smashing of the "gang of four," the regiment to which Zhang Wen belonged received orders to proceed with all equipment and personnel to a new district. After several thousand kilometers of long-distance transport by railway and motorized bivouac and field training, they arrived and carried out the tasks for an exercise in mechanized warfare and actual missile launching.

On that day, the upper level had ordered them to follow a 3, 1, 2, 4 fendui sequence of launching and to carry out successive mobile launchings in a very short period of time. This was a stiff test indeed! Zhang Wen went to the 3d fendui charged with launching the first missile and conducted the operation personally. When the guided missile was transported to the launching site for inspection, it was discovered that converter No 3 in the instrument bay had some snag. It was then already very close to the prescribed launch time. If the regular procedure were followed and the missile laid down in a horizontal position to have the instrument changed, then the other squads' operations would be affected and the chance for combat lost. What was to be done? Spontaneously, people cast their eyes in Zhang Wen's direction. After a moment of reflection, Zhang Wen made up his mind. He would break the rule, erect the missile first and then change the instrument, work simultaneously on the upper and lower parts of the missile and thereby regain the time used to change the instrument. The upper level command post immediately approved his suggestion. In order to gain some more time, he also directed the unit to change from single to double fueling. On the basis of the firm decision made by the leadership, the commanding officers closely coordinated with one another and quickly accomplished the preparatory items of work before launching. Once the "fire" order was heard, the operator

pressed the launch button and the first guided missile shot into the sky exactly on time. After this, the 1st, 2d and 4th fendui also successively carried out their mobile launchings from their respective temporarily built sites according to specified times.

One round after another of guided missiles thus took flight to strategic targets of the "enemy" several thousand kilometers away breathing thunder and fire with a great roar. Soon thereafter news of victory came back from the remote target area: The launchings were successful, all missiles on target! From among the observers at once thunderous applause exploded. The leading comrade from headquarters present repeatedly shouted, "Good firing, good firing!" On behalf of the Central Committee's Military Commission and the leading headquarters organs, he extended his warm congratulations to the commanders and fighters of the units and hailed the complete success they had achieved during this exercise which had made a new contribution to the modernization of our national defense.

During recent years, every strategic guided missile fired in whose direction Zhang Wen had participated proved to be a success, with a 100 percent rate of hits.

Today, our motherland has mounted the stallion of the Four Modernizations; the young guided missile units are taking great strides forward. A contingent of fine commanding officers such as Zhang Wen is growing up strong and healthy. We believe that in the march along the road to the modernization of our national defense Zhang Wen and his comrades-in-arms are bound to win even greater victories.

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PLA NAVY MISSILE UNIT CHANGES POSITIONS

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO in Chinese No 1, 1980 pp 10, 11

[Article by Zhnang Yongshi and Che Fu]

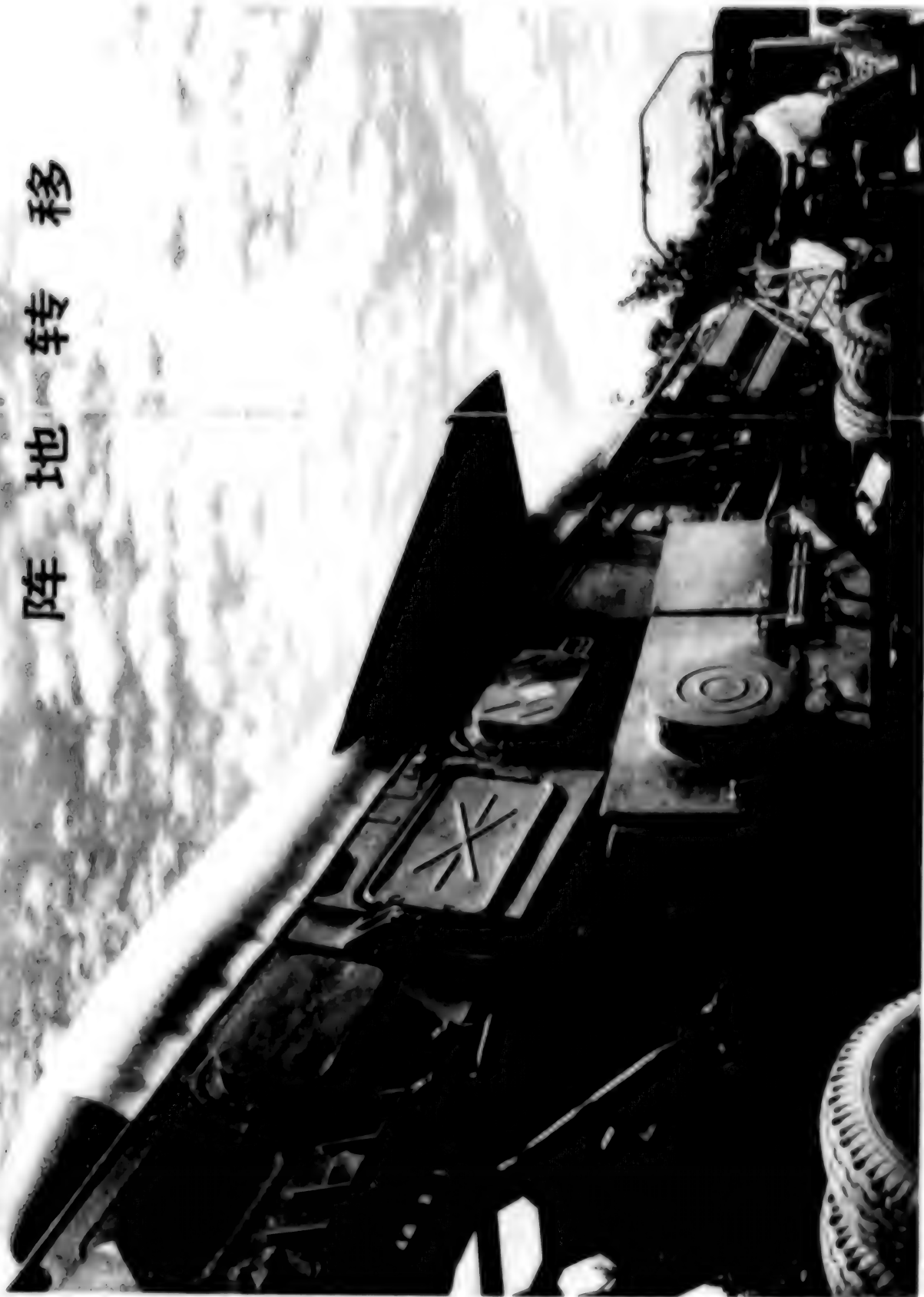
[Test] A certain PLA Navy guided missile budui received orders to move to a new position within a prescribed time and through a designated sector. In order to effectively use their mobile combat capability, the commanders and fighters practiced getting under way at any moment, firing accurately, combining their crack skills and immediately going into intensive drills. There was an atmosphere of combat at the site. When the orders came down, the equipment from various posts was withdrawn and various types of vehicles were busily loaded. By evening the budui was ready and waiting. As luck would have it, it started to rain. This was a good opportunity for them to temper themselves, and the budui braved the rain and set out. Rain and fog enveloped the area, visibility was poor and the vehicles often skidded. This was especially the case after the vehicles left the highway and entered the mountains. The muddy dirt roads were full of bumps and holes and extremely muddy. Sometimes the vehicles faltered, at other times they bumped along and sometimes they got mired down. Despite the fatigue of the long march, the cadres and fighters worked as one and pushed the vehicles along until they finally occupied their position on time.

At the new position, the launchers were accurately set up without mistakes, the launch crews promptly finished laying the cables, the radar antennas went up and were ever-ready to make effective preparations for observation, the weather departments effectively checked wind speed and direction to provide the commanders with meteorological data and the commanders conscientiously organized training.

In a short period of time, the cadres and fighters were carefully operating the equipment, acting in close coordination, and the live ammo fired scored excellent results.



移 转 地 阵



Accurate launching



Careful maintenance



Guided missile on the launcher



Conscientious operator

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MISSILE COVER PAINTING

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI in Chinese No 1, 1980 Front Cover

[Photo]



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### LARGE CARRIER ROCKET DESCRIBED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO in Chinese No 1, 1980 pp 2, 3

[Text] Our country's space technology is in the process of developing continuously, and many types of scientific and experimental satellites have been launched one after another. A large carrier rocket is needed to launch a satellite and enable it to achieve cosmic velocity of 7.9 kilometers per second.

We here introduce a large liquid fuel carrier rocket developed by our country. The rocket's first- and second-stage engines can provide control power. The rocket also has a control system to insure that it enters orbit accurately, a radio telemetry system to monitor the functioning of various components during flight and send the information back and a radio tracking and measuring system to monitor the actual flight orbit and indicate it. The body of the rocket is made of a light-weight, technologically good aluminum alloy.

Manufacture of a large carrier rocket requires advanced scientific know-how and manufacturing technology. At present, world space technology has already gone into space shuttles--the new phase of space stations. During the new Long March to realize the "four modernizations," China's young space technologists are going all out to make the country strong, striving to manufacture various types of new carrier rockets and preparing to launch even more satellites.







Carrier rocket in the main assembly shop



Servomechanism of first-stage engine being adjusted to zero.



Engineers and technicians for rocket assembly hold technical analysis meeting.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

UNIT 51088 PUBLISHES BOOK--[Editorial Report] The theoretical group of Unit 51088 is listed as the compiler of an 81-page book entitled GONGCHANDANGYUAN BIXU JIANCHI "SAN YAO SAN BUYAO" DE JIBEN YUANZE [Communist Party Members Must Resolutely Support the Basic Principles of the "3 Do's and the 3 Don't's"] [Hohhot GONGCHANDANGYUAN BIXU JIANCHI "SAN YAO SAN BUYAO" DE JIBEN YUANZE in Chinese 1977 by the Nei Monggol Renmin Chubanshe]

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### LEARNING FROM INTELLECTUALS, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 20 Jan 80 p 1

[Article: "The Fundamental Interest of the Working Class Lies in Looking Up to Intellectuals"]

[Text] Not long ago, we published in the newspaper two article about the intellectuals. Many comrades have expressed support for the viewpoints expressed in the articles. But some comrades have presented a different view, asking "why did you speak only for the intellectuals? You should also speak for the workers!" We feel there is need to discuss this issue further.

Indeed, China does not have too many intellectuals, representing only 2 percent of the total population, and less than 5 percent among the labor force. If we focus only on the few and forget about the majority, it would pose a problem. If this is true, why then have we discussed emphatically at this time, the issue of emphasizing the intellectuals? Do we favor the intellectuals? Do we lack class affection for the masses of workers and peasants? No. The reason why we emphasize the issue is that it is where the fundamental interest of the working class lies. The long practice of China's democratic revolution evinces this point. The experience from the positive and the negative sides of the socialist revolution and socialist construction further proves this point.

During the democratic revolution, several times the "leftist" opportunist line adopted the policy of dealing merciless blows, politically and organizationally, to the intellectuals, especially during the third "leftist" opportunist line associated with Wang Ming. Up to the early period of the War of Resistance against Japan, this kind of poison still remained. Among many units of the army, there still existed a psychology of fearing and even rejecting the intellectuals. In the party organizations in many places, party cadres still were unwilling to recruit intellectuals as party members. In the face of this situation, Comrade Mao Zedong in 1939 wrote the famous "To Recruit Intellectuals in Large Numbers" as the party's internal guideline. He pointed out: "Victory of the revolution

is not possible without the participation of intellectuals." He also pronounced: "Let us concurrently make the cadres who were workers and peasants into intellectuals, and also bring the intellectuals into the masses." After the entire party correctly implemented this guideline, the revolutionary situation developed actively. In 1945, Comrade Mao Sedong in his "On Coalition Government" summed up: "On the people's liberation struggles in the past half century, especially in the struggles since the May 4th Movement and during the eight-year War of Resistance, the massive revolutionary intellectuals made great contributions to the task of the people's liberation in China. In the struggles that will occur from now on, they will make even greater contributions." Facts are that in the years that followed, under the party's banner, not only more intellectuals dedicated themselves to the war of liberation, but also the young students living under the Kuomintang's jurisdiction spearheaded the campaigns of "Anti-Civil-War" and "Struggle for Democracy," and expanded them like the spread of fire. These youth movements were praised by the party as the "Second War Front."

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, under the party's leadership the massive intellectuals combined with the mass of workers and peasants, and threw themselves into the fierce socialist construction. In those years, our young republic progressed a thousand miles a day, and rose daily and steadily. During the First Five-Year Plan, industrial production increased 18 percent each year, agricultural production increased by 4.5 percent and the per capita income quickly rose by 8.9 percent. Even our enemies at the time called it a "miracle on earth." At the same time, the masses of intellectuals had gone through the ideological reform movement and the socialist revolutionary practice, and continually increased their awareness. When the Party Central Committee held the conference on the issue of intellectuals, Comrade Zhou Enlai announced for the party: "The overwhelming majority of them have become workers for the state, have provided socialist services and have been part of the working class." He also pointed out: "In the socialist era, there is more need than in any previous times to sufficiently raise the level of production skills, fully develop science and utilize scientific knowledge." "It is resolved by the Party Central Committee that the revolution needs to recruit intellectuals to devote themselves to the nation. The trumpet of 'march toward science' sounded all over the country, signaling the coming of age of the socialist economic and cultural construction. Regrettably, at this moment, the 1957 Anti-Rightist Struggle escalated, and wrongfully dealt blows to many loyal intellectuals who had the courage to speak out truthfully. In the "Communist Party Tendency" and the campaign against "Being Superficial and Abstract" which were initiated in 1958, experts became the natural adversaries of the mass movements. Many experts who insisted on seeking the truth from facts and scientific attitude were labeled as examples of right' conservatism. Furthermore, all intellectuals almost became "the s... foundation of revisionism." Of course, at the time not only intellectuals were suppressed, but also the positive attitude of the masses of workers, peasants and cadres was frustrated. The party

Central Committee made a timely proposal of an eight character policy of "adjusting, consolidating, improving and promoting." In 1962, at the "Guangzhou Conference" attended by many comrades from literature circles, Comrades Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi made speeches that excited them. They represented the party and made realistic self-criticism. They criticized the tendency since 1957 to be rather "left" than "right." They praised highly the noble self-discipline for sharing heart and hardship shown by the intellectuals when the party encountered difficulties. Once again they reiterated that intellectuals were part of the working class. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "You are people's scientists, socialist scientists, proletarian scientists, and revolutionary intellectuals. We must take away the label of capitalist intellectuals." When Comrade Chen Yi said "Today I will take off my hat and salute you..." many intellectuals had tears in their eyes. It is not difficult for us to remember that in the subsequent few years how the masses of intellectuals enthusiastically threw themselves into the fervent current of socialist construction. Under the party's correct leadership, they made positive contributions to the fast change of the nation's economic situation. Many items of science and technology came close to, caught up with or even surpassed the contemporary level in other parts of the world. They greatly reduced the distance between our level of industrial and agricultural production, and that of foreign nations. Once again, a bright and promising situation emerged on the horizon of the task of the working class.

The long revolutionary practice has proven a true principle: The policy in regard to intellectuals is an important component part of the party's line. Whenever the party's political, ideological and organizational lines are correct, the party's policy on intellectuals will be implemented correctly and thoroughly, and the role of intellectuals will be manifested relatively well, thus stimulating the revolutionary enterprise to a prosperous development. On the contrary, whenever the party's line shows deviation or suffers from serious disturbance, the party's policy on intellectuals also will suffer from sabotage, the intellectuals will be rejected and subjected to blows and be suppressed. In the end, the tasks of the working class will also suffer damages or even severe setbacks.

We must point out emphatically that, since the founding of our nation, the party has not only unified, educated and reformed millions of intellectuals from the old society, but with great efforts has also nurtured a new generation of intellectuals. During the First Five-Year Plan, we trained 270,000 graduates from institutions of higher learning and 840,000 graduates from mid-level schools. In 1952, we had only 170,000 engineering technicians in the economic sector. By 1957, there were almost 800,000 such employees, representing an increase of 3.5 times. As a result, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out in his "A Report Concerning Intellectuals": "The party has utilized a great deal of resources to nurture new intellectuals in large numbers, many of them are intellectuals from the working class. Because of all this, the complexion of our intellectual circles has undergone a fundamental change in the past 6 years." In the decade thereafter, more changes occurred. Not only did the original intellectuals continue to



receive the test posed by the three great revolutionary movements by which they firmed up their working class standpoint, but also did more new intellectuals from the old society. Most of them were from the working, peasant or other types of labor families. According to statistics, among the 670,000 college students at the time, more than 90 percent of them were from the working class. Our working class intellectuals have grown strong. This was a great victory of the party's line and socialism. However, the Cultural Revolution started in 1966, in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four," from their desire to seize the party and usurp power, but down a vast number of intellectuals as capitalist intellectuals and ignored the substantive changes that had taken place with these intellectuals in our nation. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" carried out a "total dictatorship" for 10 years, and subjected the intellectuals to various forms of persecution. Especially disgusting is that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" cheated and confused the people by promoting sky high the "rebelious spirit" of the gangsters, and practiced in the party organization the so-called workers occupying the superstructure. Although all this misled a lot of people for a period of time, yet it in fact provided the best textbook which made people gradually aware from life situations of the fact that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were splitting the working class in order to create chaos from which they could seize power.

The damage on intellectuals from a decade of catastrophe ultimately has brought about severe harm to the fundamental interest of the entire working class.

From an economic standpoint, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" spread the notion that "the more knowledge one has, the more reactionary one is," and vehemently opposed scientific technology and attempted to abolish scientific research. In order to "smash the inherited sphere of capitalist intellectuals," the laboratories in the institutions for higher learning were smashed, the specialized science research institutes "changed their directions," and the scientific research in factories was even washed off into emptiness. In this way, they choked off the key elements of modern methods, for increasing labor productivity---science and technology. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to discuss rapid development in production. Coupled with the negative acts and measures taken by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our national economy was pushed to the brink of collapse. When the economy was to collapse, how would the people's standard of living not have deteriorated?

From the standpoint of education, since liberation millions of children from the working and peasant classes received general education. Thousands of them entered colleges or subsequently went abroad to study. According to statistics, up to 1965, the nation had produced more than 1,550,000 full-time college graduates, 16,000 graduate students, and seen 670,000 students enrolled in colleges. After that, because of the persecution against intellectuals and damages on the educational frontier under Lin Biao and the "gang of four," schools closed down in large numbers, school buildings were occupied, and equipment was broken. Not only were

the outstanding youths who had the talents and a promising future rejected from the doors of the schools, but also, under the slogans of "criticizing respect for teachers" and "changing the upper level scholarship," the quality of education deteriorated resulting in a lack of modern scientific and cultural education that this generation of children of the working and peasant classes deserved. The consequence is that even up to the present there are still large numbers of youth who lack cultural knowledge and production skills, constituting an acute contradiction in the needs of four modernizations.

Just on the above two points, any unbiased person can see without difficulty that while Lin Biao and the "gang of four" dealt direct blows to intellectuals, the entire working class suffered damages. The consequence and influence are far-reaching, causing our nation's science and technology to fall behind. They removed, strategically, the cornerstone of the socialist economy, causing difficulties even today in our agriculture and industry. Reflecting from this painful experience, we should draw proper lessons from it.

Today, the Party Central Committee is leading the people of our nation toward a new long march. Among the working class, intellectuals are a force that has first grasped modern science and culture, and are a backbone strength for rapidly implementing the four modernizations. The importance we attach to intellectuals reflects our emphasis on our intellectual investment in the nation's economic development. Here not only lies the fundamental interest of the working class in a new historical period, it will also bring practical benefits to the workers, peasants and the masses. Are there not many people today who like talking about the living standards of the workers in the developing countries? To secure higher profit, the capitalists in those countries are willing to pay high prices to recruit talents in science and technology and increase the budget for science and technology to increase labor productivity. Due to the great increase in the per capita labor production, the livelihood of the workers has received some improvements, even though the residual value has not changed or has also risen. Looking back at our own nation, it is using a socialist system, and thus there is no capitalist exploitation. Under these circumstances, conceivably it would bring great practical benefits to the workers and to the entire body of our people if we look up to intellectuals, develop science and technology and raise the level of labor productivity with an increasing speed.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### LITERATURE, ART SAID TO BE IN TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

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[Article by Yu Congzhe [0151 1783 0772]: "The Course of Literature and Art in Communist China"]

[Text] From 13 October to 15 November, the "Fourth Literature and Art Workers Representative Conference" (hereafter abbreviated as "Literature Conference") was held in Beijing. On looking over a number of reports concerning this conference and on glancing through older materials concerning debates in literature and art in Communist China over the past 2 or 3 years, it seemed to me that the Literature Conference called by the Communist Chinese on this occasion was really of a different significance than the three past All-China literature conferences that have been held. This is because literary and artistic circles in Communist China are at present at a crossroad. It might even be said that they have entered a transitional period in which it may be possible for them to break out of ideological dogmatism and ossification.

#### The Transitional Period Breakthrough

When did the transitional period begin? There are some who say that the period of cultural autocracy was concluded and that the transitional period began after the gang of four was smashed in October 1976. However, if we consider this from the standpoint of the present state of literature and art--including creation and theory, the transformation actually began with the publication by RENMIN WENXUE in November 1977 of the novel "Ban Zhuren" [The Teacher in Charge] by Liu Xinwu [0491 1800 2976]. By May 1978, after the Chinese Communists had begun their discussion concerning practice being the sole criterion for testing truth, there was a large outpouring of "scar literature" portraying the tragedy of the Cultural Revolution, and, in particular, portraying the family misfortunes brought about as the result of labeling veteran cadres as capitalist roaders. Even though these works had such shortcomings as being too limited in their selection of topics, too rigid in playing up their central themes and too stereotyped in ending their stories with a rosy denouement, yet the very fact that they dared to write about the

side of socialism (although these were all things of the past) and that they dared to write about tragedy is in the final analysis a great breakthrough in the degree of tolerance of the Chinese Communists for literary and artistic creation. By April of this year, the breakthrough in literature and art had moved on to theoretical questions.

The reason that the breakthrough in creative work led to debate on theoretical questions was because the "Left" ideological trend seized the opportunity to stage a resurgence after the Chinese Communists proposed "adhering to the four principles" in April of this year, reasserting and proposing various views that did not conform to reality.

The earliest indication of the "Left" ideological trend was a series of six articles in April in NANFANG RIBAO and GUANGZHOU RIBAO proposing that literature and art must at present "look forward." The author was Huang Ansi [1806 1944 1935]. Huang Ansi divided current literature into two major types, one of which he called "backward-looking" literature (i.e., "scar literature") and another type of literature that directly reflects the Four Modernizations, that sings the praises of the heroic image of the workers, peasants and soldiers and that depicts the flourishing of socialism. The latter he called "forward-looking" literature. Although Huang Ansi did not completely oppose the writing of "backward-looking" literature, he thought that "forward-looking" literature "directly reflecting the theme of the Four Modernizations" should be put in first place. This is because, "I believe that writing about rebellion makes people angry, that raising problems makes people think deeply but that telling of the breakup of families and deaths, of the vicissitudes of life and of the twists and turns of love tends to make people sad. I also believe that sadness evokes differing reactions among persons of different ages, different experiences and different world views, and, that, at the present juncture, it tends to make people feel that fate is difficult to fathom and that the future is uncertain." This is an equivocal statement. What it actually means is that writers should avoid producing harmful effects in persons of different ages by writing less about the dark side of things.

On 8 May, the RENMIN RIBAO published a report entitled "A Discussion Caused by a Composition." This report told about a student in the freshman first class of Jingye Middle School in Shanghai who wrote a composition called "A Beggar." This composition described how the author, on his way to see a moving picture at the Da Guangming Movie House, saw a woman beggar at the side of the road with a baby less than a year old in her arms and who was extending hunger-starved hands saying, "Pity; have pity on me! Uncles and aunts, be charitable...." When the author viewed this scene, he felt a darkness before his eyes and the three big characters "Da Guangming" [Great Brightness] in neon lights of the Da Guangming Movie House also made him feel that things were not "bright" [guangming].

When Teacher Li of the Language Class read this essay, he organized a discussion among the students in all of the classes and also invited the vice-chairman of the Department of Political Science of [Shanghai] Teachers University to conduct a politics class for the teachers and pupils of the freshman first class and to explain the causes producing the social phenomenon of beggars. After undergoing education, the author of the essay "A Beggar" agreed to revise his original composition and the teacher was prepared to give it a mark after the revision.

When the RENMIN RIBAO reported this incident, they added an editor's note commending the League organization and the teachers of Jingye Middle School for "correctly guiding a young person in deepening his understanding, in making a clear distinction between principal and secondary aspects and in dealing with the dark side of society." It also said that this "lively discussion" was responsible for a "good experience in political-ideological education."

However, in the view of this writer, this discussion was nothing more than a silly discussion making a fuss over a trifling matter. A student who saw a dark and backward aspect of social reality felt sorry about it, experienced a feeling of darkness about it. This was truly an expression of his concern for society and of his great compassion. Organizing a discussion and calling in someone to hold a class on politics made the student feel that he should rewrite his original essay and without doubt must have worn down his feelings, putting a magnificent general principle in their place. If this sort of ideological dogma is used to limit the themes about which one can write and to hem one in by restrictions, what student will dare to write about the reality that he has encountered? In regard to this way of teaching language, this writer would like to ask that language teacher, that middle school League organization, that vice-chairman of the political department and that RENMIN RIBAO editor to "have pity on, have pity on, be charitable to" that student.

All of what appeared in April and May concerning "forward-looking" literature and "A Discussion Caused by a Composition" implicitly advanced the idea that there should be opposition to putting writing about the dark realities of the past in first place and that the dark side of things should be written about with a "correct" attitude. During June, HEBEI WENXUE published such essays as "Singing of Virtue and Lack of Virtue" and "Singing Praises and Exposing the Truth," which threatened people with big sticks. Let us examine the segments quoted below.

"There are now those who direct their bare spearheads not at the enemy, not at Lin Biao and not at the gang of four but at socialism, at the dictatorship of the proletariat, at the leaders of the Communist Party and at the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong." These persons are "members of the exposure faction" who "follow at the heels of the capitalist class and who are exposing the socialist system and exposing the leaders of the Communist Party."



"Within the ranks of creative artists, there are some who use a psychology of darkness to look at the great enterprises of the people and to blow a cold wind on others who sing enthusiastically of the creative acts of the Four Modernizations." They "do not 'sing' for the people." "Eating the peasants' grain and wearing the workers' clothes, they wield their three-inch pens but refuse to acclaim the masters of the nation." "They have abandoned the more than ninety-five percent who are workers and peasants." "They are animals that curse the red sun" and who are "good at smelling out raw meat in dark and damp blood pools."

"Although that type of person who narrows his conscience, who cannot bear to look at reality and who put foreigners' shoe-polishing rags around their necks as neckties, putting up a clamor that we are not as good as revisionists and capitalists, do not 'sing of virtue,' their conduct is 'wicked.'"

When I see these fragments, I feel that there has been a return to the Cultural Revolution era of "sweeping away all monsters and demons." There is little wonder that, after this essay was published, it aroused great indignation in literary and artistic circles. Many people denounced it as a typical example of "blowing a cold wind" and of "threatening people with a big stick."

In August, SHANDONG WENYI published an essay entitled "This Kind of Fashion Can't be Kept up With," that criticized the poems and stories now being published in some publications as "ostensibly whipping feudal emperors but implicitly beating the leaders of the revolution" and of "using history for insinuation" and "plotting against literature and art."

From April to August, theoretical essays opposing exposure of the dark side of society and opposing the writing of "scar literature" appeared in Guangdong, Shanghai, Hebei and Shandong. Moreover, they were all of great length, thus indicating that the appearance of these essays was not accidental but that they obviously reflected the intentions of a number of persons in authority at the higher levels.

Debates on problems of literature and art on the Chinese mainland are never limited solely to literary and artistic circles. They are a reflection of the ideological struggle in the higher levels of the Chinese Communist Party in the sphere of literature and art. In March, April and May, a high level of the Chinese Communist Party proposed "adhering to the four principles" in order to correct the so-called rightist ideological trend that occurred after the Third Plenary Session. It was subsequent to that the sticks beating at "exposure literature" mentioned above appeared. In late May, a high level of the Chinese Communist Party advanced opposition to allowing "adhering to the four principles" to take the course that had been distorted and misrepresented by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," advancing the view that the "Left" ideological trend was still the principal danger.



Under these circumstances, there has been great opposition since July to the "singing of virtue faction" in the literary and artistic sphere. In a given period, there is one voice and whatever wind blows there is an expression of that opinion. The so-called debates are in actuality uncontested discussions in which one group suppresses another.

Although the opposition to the "singing of virtue faction" reflects the opinion of the main stream faction at the higher levels of the Chinese Communist Party in opposing the "Left" ideological trend, it is at the same time also a reflection of the wishes of the overwhelming majority of persons in literary and artistic circles. For thirty years, Chinese Communist literature and art were dominated almost entirely by the "singing of virtue faction." The views of the "sing of virtue faction" and the works of the "sing of virtue" faction are not necessarily too numerous. However, at a time when the deficiencies and problems of actual life are growing more and more numerous, the works of the "sing of virtue faction" have indeed become lies giving a false picture of peace and the views of the "sing of virtue faction" have become clubs for beating realistic literature and art.

#### Several Works Reflecting Social Contradictions

After striking back at the literary and artistic views of the "sing of virtue faction," literary and artistic circles on the China mainland took a step forward on the road of realism and concrete achievements, and several works have appeared exposing social contradictions.

In its July issue, RENMIN WENXUE published the novel, "QIAO CHANGZHANG SHANG-JEN JI" [The Record of Factory Chief Qiao's Assumption of his Post]. This novel took as its theme the story of a leading cadre of a machinery and electrical equipment bureau took the initiative in going to an electrical machinery plant in order to straighten out a mess. It described the severe problems that existed in the plant after the ten years of disorder of the Cultural Revolution, including complications in personnel matters and ideological confusion among the workers. It also dealt with the atmosphere of opportunism and of securing advantage through influence in society that resulted in a plant chief who had resolved to do a good job and who had undergone a struggle having been subjected to countless instances of abuse, ridicule and false accusation. The author gave expression to the relationships among complex contradictions and expressed his approval of the leadership cadre, Factory Chief Qiao, who had resolved to reorganize an enterprise. Moreover, in depicting how Factory Chief Qiao finally learned how to sing a Beijing opera, "Sao Longtu sat in meditation at Kaifengfu," he suggested that many among the cadre should take up the tasks of straightening out the mess in society.

In its August issue, SHI KAN published a poem, "General, You Should Not Do That," that criticized a general officer who had been brutally persecuted by the gang of four, but who, after he had once again assumed a

position of leadership, took a good many special privileges for himself, issuing an order to tear down a nursery school so that he could build a house of several stories for himself. He used up several tens of thousands in foreign exchange for a complete set of modernized equipment. Although a tone of exhortation is used in this poem, it touches directly on one of the most acute problems at present among the social contradictions on the China mainland -- the problem of cadre privileges.

In its September issue, RENMIN WENXUE published a feature article entitled "REN YAO ZHI JIAN" (Between Men and Demons), which even more fully dissected serious problems among the Chinese Communist cadres. The author, in a spirit of great wisdom and great courage and without the slightest show of mercy, directed sharp remarks at the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system and the evils created by the leaders of the Communist Party in effecting them on the Chinese mainland. The author is writing about a county and about the grass roots level of the Chinese Communist Party. However, the reader can by inference apply what he says to the country as a whole and also to the higher levels. Among the literary and artistic works on the Chinese mainland over the past thirty years to the present, it is this feature article that has been able to expose the contradictions and dark side of society and has had the power to restore the hearing and seeing faculties of the deaf and the blind.

In the same issue of REMIN WENXUE, there was also a television play written by Bai Hua, "A Story of 'Looking Forward.'" This television play describes how a woman author went to an experimental pig-raising farm to interview the woman farm chief, Sun Jing, a "heroine advancing toward the Four Modernizations," who in the short period of time of two years had established a modernized pig-breeding farm. However, during the course of the interview, she saw many dark aspects of human relations and she saw the factionalism that was a remnant of the Cultural Revolution as well as the bureaucratism and the style of seeking relationships and mutual protection at the cadre level. She had cherished the idea of writing "forward-looking" literature and of about a heroine who had devoted herself to the Four Modernizations. But her conclusion was that, "in order to look forward" one must have a retrospective view. By means of authentic images and a style that shocks the heart, this story responds to the opinion in the literary and artistics struggle that putting writing "forward-looking" literature in the first place is in reality opposing writing about the wounds of actual life.

Thereupon, the true nature of realistic literature during the transitional period was revealed not only from a theoretical but also from a creative standpoint. Ideologically, the aforementioned works have broken through the theme of the experiences of old cadres during the Cultural Revolution used in last year's "war literature." That is, they have turned from the point of view of the higher cadres or the followers of the higher cadres to the point of view of the personal experiences of the ordinary people and to the point of view of the most prominent contradictions in society.

from an artistic standpoint, they have gone far beyond the level of "scar literature." Their impact on society is very strong and enduring and will become even more evident.

#### Literary and Artistic Standards of Rebellion Against Mao

The beginning of the breakthrough in literature and art in the transitional period from "scar literature" to opposition to the theoretical arguments of the "sing of virtue faction" and the advance to production of a number of literary and artistic works truly reflecting social contradictions and having an impact on society is a very significant process. It can be said to be a revolt against the course of Chinese Communist literature and art of the past thirty years. This type of theory and this type of work could not have appeared or approved on the China mainland before 1977. This is because they run directly counter to a number of the criteria of Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," which has been revered as a classic by the Chinese Communist Party since 1977.

First, there is the question of "for whom literature and art exist." In his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" (hereafter abbreviated as "Talks"), Mao Zedong held that this "was a fundamental question, a matter of principle." Mao stipulated that, "Our literature and our art are for the masses of the people, and, above all, for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and they are used by the workers, peasants and soldiers." Mao's talks also proposed that they "should depict the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and that they should educate the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers." If this criterion had been interpreted as a prerequisite whereby literature and art should conform to the interests of the greater majority of the people, the workers, peasants and soldiers, very few would have opposed it. Thus, bureaucratism, privileged strata and all conduct not according with the interests of the people should have been exposed and castigated. However, policy on literature and art over the past few decades has interpreted this criterion as meaning that one could write only about workers, peasants and soldiers and that one could sing the praises only of heroes among the workers, peasants and soldiers. In this way, "scar literature" and "exposure literature" were works that deviated from the criterion.

Next was the question of the mission of literary and art work. In his "Talks," Mao stipulated that the literature and art work of the Party should "be subordinated to the missions designated by the Party during given revolutionary periods." He also proposed that the "ideological struggles and the artistic struggles of the revolution must be subordinate to political struggle" and that in the criticism of literature and art we must "put political criteria in the first place and put artistic criteria in second place." In view of these criteria, we can see, first, that if the Chinese Communist Party proposes that realization of the Four Modernizations is the revolutionary mission during the present historical period and that if it

issues a call to "unite as one in looking forward," then literary and artistic work must naturally be subordinate to this and placing "forward-looking literature" in first place using the theme of the Four Modernizations is proper. Conversely, it can even be said that exposure literature has revealed the dark side of things and has led people into "looking backward" and into losing their confidence and thus runs counter to the "revolutionary mission specified by the Chinese Communist Party for the given revolutionary period." Second, such being the case, ideological struggle and artistic struggle "must be subordinate to political struggle." Thus, in the evaluation of all creative practice and literary and artistic arguments, we must first ascertain whether they are in accordance with the requirements of the current political struggle. During the era of the gang of four, writing of capitalist-roader literature was advocated, and, at present, writing of literature on the theme of the Four Modernizations is advocated. Before the higher authorities of the Chinese Communist Party brought up the errors of the Cultural Revolution, it was not possible to write about the tragedy of the Cultural Revolution in real life in literary works. When people in the higher levels of the Chinese Communist Party indicated that the Cultural Revolution was a "ten-year catastrophe," there was a large outpouring of "scar literature." This was literature subservient to political struggle. Literary and artistic works became not a true reflection of actual society but rather tools of political struggle.

Third, there was the problem of singing of praises and exposure. The criterion set forth by Mao in his talks was: "All dark forces that harm the masses of people must be exposed and all revolutionary struggles of the masses of people must be praised. This is the basic mission of revolutionary writers." "The targets of exposure by revolutionary writers can only be aggressors, exploiters, oppressors and the odious influences that they have left among the people. They cannot be the masses of people. .... In regard to the people, it is fundamentally a question of educating and improving them." If this criterion is interpreted as meaning that dark forces can arise in a socialist era and that leaders of a communist party can become exploiters and oppressors, it is perfectly correct to conclude that they, therefore, may be exposed. However, in his "Talks," Mao also stated: "Literature in the Soviet Union during the period of Socialist construction was primarily concerned with the bright aspects. They also wrote about deficiencies in work and about negative characters. However, this type of literature served only as a 'foil' for the overall bright picture." This he set forth as a rule for literature and art in socialist China. Over the past thirty years, the Chinese Communist literary world used this rule to attack many works and writers who faced reality and exposed the defects and dark side of society.

Mao's "Talks" were of definite significance in the period in which it was published. He proposed that "Our discussions of problems should start from reality, not from definitions." And at that time the reality was the War of Resistance Against Japan. Making subservience to the political mission of the War of Resistance Against Japan the mission of literary and



artistic work at that time was in accord with the social reality and the requirements of the people at that time. Almost all of the writers at that time were from petty bourgeois families and did not understand the suffering of the people. Mao issued a call to them to go out among the masses, "to go to the only and the broadest and richest source to observe, experience, study and analyse all persons, all classes, all masses and all vivid forms of life and forms of struggle." At the time, this was also significant. Many writers, such as Zhao Shuli, Kang Zhuo, Ding Ling and Zhou Libo actually went out into rural areas to gather experiences for long periods and wrote valuable literary works.

However, times and conditions change and some aspects of Mao's "Talks" are out-of-date. For example, after the Chinese Communist Party had established the nation, it was no longer an era of a war of resistance and to propose that the mission of literature and art should be subservient to the political mission was not proper. In addition, changes also arose in the nature of classes on the Chinese mainland. Although peasants make up the overwhelming majority of the population of China, the cadres and intellectual elements, who are a part of the people, are more numerous than workers and soldiers. Thus, "creating for the workers, peasants and soldiers" has become too limiting.

There are some criteria in Mao's "Talks" in regard to which there is the problem that they may have differing interpretations. For example, "creating for the workers, peasants and soldiers" and "singing praises and exposing," as mentioned above, can be understood in different ways. In addition to this, there are problems relating to an excessively mechanical approach to some questions and of a lack of understanding of the complexity of literary and artistic works. For example, in actual life it is far from simple to determine what should be praised and what should be exposed. Many things are a mixture of virtues and defects. Thus, it is clear that we cannot take the attitude that "the people should be praised and the enemy should be exposed" on the basis of the view that "if they are the people, they are not the enemy." As other examples, a worker-peasant-soldier orientation, revolutionary missions and the demand that writers study Marxism-Leninism and remould their world view have fostered aprioristic methods of literary creation in which "the theme takes precedence" and have obstructed the development of literature and art.

### The Struggle Over the Course of Literature and Art in the Fifties

There is fundamentally no harm in taking Mao's "Talks" as one opinion among varied opinions. However, in the past, the Chinese Communist Party has regarded it as the sole criterion and has regarded it as a classic text, with the result that the dynamic thinking of the people has been blocked. In literary and artistic struggles for thirty years, both the winners and losers have worshiped Mao's "Talks" as a talisman, and, often, before principles have been clarified, have escalated an argument to a political struggle in which writers who have taken a different view have been arbitrarily identified as counterrevolutionaries or rightist elements.

In 1954, Hu Feng called the leaders of the literary and artistic world at that time (He Qifang, Lin Mohan and others), on the basis of Mao's "Talks" and of the theories they had formulated from their understanding of it, as the five theoretical knives over the heads of readers and writers. These five knives were: First, "Writers must engage in creating practice and they must first have a perfect and flawless communist world view." Second, "Only the lives of workers, peasants and soldiers can be considered as lives." Third, "One can only create after one's thought has been remoulded." Fourth, "Only past forms can be considered to be national forms. .... If one must take over the experiences of international revolutionary literature and art and of the literature and art of realism, this is to 'prostrate oneself before capitalist literature and art.'" Fifth, "Themes can be differentiated by whether they are important or not. .... So-called 'important themes' are definitely bright things, for once the revolution has been victorious there can be no new struggles. .... Once the revolution has been victorious, there can be no backwardness and darkness. .... This results in writers not daring to write about anything. Indeed, if what we write about is thoroughly "bright," then what is written will be hypocritical through and through. ...." (See Hu Feng's thirty-thousand word "IJIAN SHU" [Statement of Opinion].)

To be sure, the questions that Hu Feng raised can be debated. However, before they were clarified through debate, Hu Feng was branded as a counterrevolutionary element.

In the 1956 period of airing of views, Qin Zhaoyang, Zhou Bo, Zhong Dianfei, Qian Yurong, Ba Ren, Chen Yong and Liu Shaotang proposed making studies of a series of theoretical problems in literature and art and striving to explain the special laws governing literature and art on a theoretical basis so that writers and critics could be liberated from the constraints of dogmatism. The most representative of these was Qin Zhaoyang's critique, "A Vulgarized Understanding and Interpretation of 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art.'" He pointed out that making literature and art subservient to politics was interpreted as meaning that literature and art should work in concert with the pronouncements on the political mission of the time and that the process of execution of a given policy should be reflected in works in the manner of summarizing work. Literary and artistic publications occupied themselves mechanically in coordinating with current missions and came to evaluate the social significance of works excessively from the standpoint of whether or not they coordinated with the missions. By making political criteria first and by interpreting this as meaning that politics was the sole factor, they overlooked the fact that literary and artistic creation is complex mental labor, did not stress nurturing literature and art, did not stress creative methods and transformed the criticism of works into a political evaluation of authors. He also pointed out that such so-called restrictions and fetters as "one cannot write about themes of the past," "one should not write about intellectual elements," "one should not make capitalists, landlords or rich peasants the major characters in works," "one should not write about backward people" and



"articles about backward Party members is to 'distort the image of Communist Party members'" were also produced from the aforementioned theory of dogmatism.

The aforementioned opinions and the opinions of others can certainly be debated. However, it was before these principles had been clarified through debate that Qin Zhaoyang and others of his kind had already been branded as rightist elements.

In the 1956 period of airing of views, a group of works appeared that sought to break out of the restrictions stipulated in the "Talks." These included, for example, "ZAI QIAOLIANG GONGDI SHANG" [At the Bridge Construction Site] and "BENBAO NEI BU XIAOXI" [Inside News at this Newspaper] by Liu Binyan, "ZUZHIBU XINLAI DE QINGNIANREN" [The New Young People in the Organization Department] by Wang Meng, "MA DUAN DE DUOLUO" [The Degeneration of Ma Duan] by Li Qing and "GAIXUAN" [Reelection] by Li Guowen. These works portrayed bureaucrats and how, in a bureaucratic atmosphere, opportunists, seekers after fame and wealth and persons of corrupt morals were protected. They also told of persons who had been subjected to bureaucratic oppression and persecution and who had struggled against them. The aforementioned works did not simplify life and characters but authentically described the complexity of life.

It is certainly permissible to subject these works to review. However, at that time, genuine analysis and commentary were still not being conducted. Thus, these works were branded as "poisonous weeds" and their authors were branded as rightists.

The course of literature and art in Communist China for thirty years, regardless of changes in time, place and conditions, has been enveloped from beginning to end in the dogma that Mao's "Talks" is the sole standard. This has had a fundamentally obstructive effect on the development and flourishing of literature and art. In 1956, the literary monthly TANQIUZHE [The Seeker] stated that "using the battle weapon of literature to break the restraints of dogma, to deal courageously with life and to inquire earnestly into human life will promote socialism." This reflected the ideals of many young authors. However, this ideal was incessantly attacked. Up until the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, the tendency toward formalism and generalization in literature and art progressed to a formalistic, hollow and lifeless state. The disastrous effects of literary dogmatism caused considerable abhorrence among literature and art workers and among the masses and the literary and artistic despotism aroused bitter hatred among the people. Under conditions under which things will develop in the opposite direction when they become extreme, there has been a breakthrough in literary and artistic creation and theory over the past two years on the China mainland.

### What Breakthrough Was There at the Literature Conference?

The fact that the Chinese Communist Party called the fourth "Literature Representative Conference" during this transitional period has drawn considerable attention among those who are concerned for the future of literature and art. There has to some extent been a breakthrough in respect to old literary and artistic dogma and there is the belief that there definitely will be debate at the general meeting. Over the past thirty years, there has been continual political struggle in the literary and artistic world. Many people have individual grievances and have formed factions. It is an important matter whether or not an alliance can be achieved at this literature representative conference. Of course, people are also concerned about whether the control exercised over literature and art and expression of opinion by the Chinese Communist Party might be relaxed a bit in the future, with writers being allowed even greater freedom in their writing.

In regard to the question of Party control of literature and art, Deng Xiaoping, in his congratulatory speech to the general assembly of representatives of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, stated, "The leadership of the Party in literature and art does not involve ordering people about and does not require literature and art to be subordinated to temporary, concrete and direct political missions. Rather, on the basis of the characteristics and rules of development of literature and art, it assists workers in literature and art in securing conditions under which literary and artistic activities can continually flourish." He pointed out: "The yamen work style must be abandoned. If this sort of thing is regarded as upholding the leadership of the Party, then the result can only be a movement toward the reverse of the situation." He also said: "The complex mental labor of literature and art requires to a great extent that writers and artists exercise their individual creative spirits. The questions of what to write and how to write can only be resolved through a progressive search by writers and artists in the practice of their arts. We should not interfere flagrantly in this sphere."

In regard to the problem of unity in the literary and artistic world, the major point is that it involves the grievances from the several political movements in the literary and artistic world in the past. During the period of opposition to Hu Feng and opposition to the Right, such persons as Zhou Yang, Lin Mohan and Liu Baiyu were in positions of Party leadership and carried out attacks against many people. At this general meeting, it is reported that Zhou Yang and Liu Baiyu made formal apologies to Ding Ling, Chen Qixia, Ai Qing, Luo Feng, Bai Lang and Qin Zhaoyang and acknowledged that they had been wrong in the past. Zhou Yang also acknowledged that Wang Meng, Liu Binyan and Liu Shaotang should not have been branded as rightists and this should be redressed. Zhou Yang also declared that Hu Feng had taken up the post of committee member of the Sichuan Province Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He also pointed out

that the problem of Lu Feng is very complicated, that it is being resolved as a special case by the Central Committee, that his problem should be dealt with by seeking truth from facts and that if a mistake has been made it should be corrected. Many authors who had been attacked by Zhou Yang in the past outwardly indicated on this occasion that they had accepted his apologies and that they would not allow themselves to be swayed by personal feelings. However, in actuality, it is very difficult for persons who were unjustifiably persecuted and oppressed for more than twenty years not to be affected by personal feelings. For this reason, Xia Yan, in his speech closing the Literature and Art Representative Conference, again made the appeal: "We hope that, after this representative congress, we will be able to cast the personal feelings of seventeen years and of the Cultural Revolution into the sea."

Even more important from the standpoint of the future of Chinese literature is the problem of theory. That is to say, in the final analysis, how much of a breakthrough can there be from the dogma on literature and art formulated by Mao and from the interpretation of the "Talks" over the period of more than thirty years (since 1942) by the Chinese Communist Party? There was certainly considerable debate at the literature and art representative conference. Xia Yan in his concluding speech said: "In the world of literature and art, liberation of thought has not been excessive. Rather, it is just beginning to make itself shown and there is still some distance to go before true liberation of thought and democracy in literature and art." He also pointed out that theory "is subordinate to life" and that "literature and art workers must look squarely at the reality of the present rapid changes in our country in order to examine the literary theory that we have become accustomed to using. We cannot 'take measures without regard to changes in circumstances.'" What is the "literary theory that we have become accustomed to using?" This without doubt primarily indicates Mao's "Talks." He cited the theoretical problems of literature and art that were touched on at this conference, "for example, the problem of whether literature and art must serve politics; the question of whether or not literature and art are subordinate to politics; the question of whether or not literature and art can solely be epitomized as tools of class struggle; the question of whether or not all ideologies are superstructures of an economic base; the problem of the creative methods of socialist literature and art (i.e., the problem of the integration of socialist realism with revolutionary romanticism); the problem of singing praises and exposing; and the problem of opposing feudal privilege and Bureaucratism by diversification of themes). He concluded that, in regard to these problems, "we must carry out research with courage, looking squarely at reality and conscientiously and by seeking truth from facts."

In regard to the current mission of literature and art work, Deng Xiaoping, in his congratulatory speech, pointed out that we "must mould pioneers for establishment of the Four Modernizations ..... to arouse a positive socialist spirit among the broad masses" and that we must "authentically

reflect a rich social life, reflect the essential character of people in various social relationships and to express the needs of the times for advances and the tendencies of historical development." Zhou Yang, in his report to the Literature and Art Representative Conference, said: "Our literature and art should reflect the great struggle of the people in their advance toward socialist modernization, should assist the people in recognizing and overcoming the difficulties and obstacles on the road ahead and should inspire their will to fight and their faith."

The official opinion and viewpoint reflected by Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Yang is essentially that of demanding "looking forward." However, some of the young writers of the fifties (who are now middle-aged), such as Wang Meng, Liu Baoyan, Liu Shaotang and Bai Hua posed to those in power the provocative and acute question of opposing bureaucratism and opposing privilege. Bai Hua's speech was published in the RENMIN RIBAO of 13 November. In one section, he said: "If, in this new historical period, writers and artists avoid the profound social and ideological struggles ahead of us and if they are unwilling to understand the lives and the new vivid ideology of the masses of people at present, then there will certainly be no readers for their works. For this reason, this is not only a question of what we think we should do but also a question of what we should do. Should we cover up for someone who has no way to cover up social contradictions? Should we sing the praises of the state of ignorance that has made the people make great sacrifices? Should we remain silent in the face of the bureaucratism that has stood in our way? Should we show consideration for the prestige of the master "who lays down the law," which has nothing whatsoever in common with the Communist Party?

Who is the master "who lays down the law" to whom he was referring? This truly affords considerable food for thought. Of course, of even greater importance was his proposal that literature and art should deal with reality and that they should not be subordinated to the political mission of advancing the Four Modernizations.

The opinions of Bai Hua and the others reflected the aspirations of the people. However, it obviously is not in accordance with the views of those in power. For this reason, Xia Yan, in his closing speech, stressed "mutual forgiveness and mutual aid" and "people in the same boat helping each other." He pointed out that "some propaganda organs in the Western world continually report in great detail on our internal disturbances and temporary troubles" and that "there should be no forbidden areas in literary and artistic creation and in research on theory. However, I believe that before a patriotic writer, a progressive writer, and, particularly, a writer who is a member of the Communist Party produces a creative work regarding themes, events and characters in which he feels an interest, he will certainly give thought as to how he can make it beneficial in inspiring the revolutionary spirit of the people and in raising the level of morality and appreciation of beauty of the people

and that he will certainly have a sense of the great responsibility that he bears to his motherland and to the people."

Xia Yan's speech obviously implies that we should not make excessive revelations about the dark side of things so that we can avoid being utilized by "some propaganda organs in the Western world." However, Bai Hua's speech obviously holds to the view that disclosing social contradictions and opposing bureaucracy is the responsibility of a writer to his country and the people. If in the future there were actually no forbidden areas in literary and artistic creation and theory, then the problems of cadre privilege and bureaucracy, which would not be suppressed, would inevitably become major themes of realistic literature and what a number of prestigious older writers call "people in the same boat helping each other" cannot suppress the desire of conscientious writers to serve as spokesman of the people.

Deng Xiaoping in his speech and Zhou Yang in his report still stressed the direction of the workers, peasants and soldiers brought up by Mao in his "Talks," stressed that literature and art workers must study Marx-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Zedong and stressed the significance of literature and art in "nurturing a new socialist people." This appears to be a hint that this will be used in the future as the basis for attacking "heterodoxy." Those longing to see a springtime in the literature and art of China cannot avoid feeling hidden anxiety about this.

Nevertheless, emancipation of thought is in the final analysis the main stream in the course of Chinese Communist literature and art in the transitional period. Now that it has been stated that "there are no restricted zones" and now that it has been clearly stated that "there should be no flagrant interference" there may be courageous persons who will speak out about the sufferings of the people. In the speech by Bai Hua cited above, there is also a section in which he speaks about the elements in the democratic movement on the China mainland. He said: "In recent years, there has appeared a large number of talented young people. There is no place for the publication of the greater majority of their works. The most they can do is to publish them in journals they publish themselves. .... There are very few people in the literary world who approach them, believing that their thought is 'terrifying.' Their thought was not terrifying by birth but was made so by terrible history. It can be predicted that very many good writers will appear among them because most of them live at the grass roots level, are courageous and are good at thinking things out."

Bai Hua's speech reflected the wide gap between the young people in the democratic movement and those in power in the Chinese Communist Party (including those in power in the literary and artistic world). It also reflected the divergence of views between the middle-aged and young



writers (such as Bai Hua and Liu Binyan) on the one hand and the older generation of writers on the other hand over the course of literature and art. It would appear that it was the general consensus of this literature and art representative conference that there should be freedom in creativity and theoretical research and that there should be opposition to control of literature and art. However, there were comparatively great differences of opinion at this literature and art representative conference on whether literature and art should follow the course toward relentlessly reflecting reality, exposing social contradictions and getting involved in social life.

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CSO: 4005



QUESTION OF INTELLECTUALS EXAMINED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 Jan 80 p 4

[Article by Xu Wenmao (1976 2429 5399): "Examining the Question of Our Intellectuals From History and Present Conditions"]

[Text] During the period of 3 years and more since the smashing of the "gang of four," because the Party Central Committee has adopted a series of correct policies and measures, the position and treatment of our intellectuals have become ameliorated and can no longer be spoken of in the same vein in comparison with the years when the "gang of four" held sway. But that erroneous attitude of depreciation and discrimination against the intellectuals still remains with us, which keeps the party's policy on the intellectuals from being realized in certain localities and units. For the sake of giving full play to the role of the intellectuals in the four modernizations work we must, apart from continuing to eliminate the remnant poison of the extreme Left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," also seriously explore the causes which contribute to the formation of that erroneous attitude of depreciation and discrimination against the intellectuals, overcome the influence of certain historical prejudices and old habits toward the intellectuals, and thereby seek a way of solving the problem on the basis of a rectification of our thinking.

1

What about the history and the present conditions of the contingent of our intellectuals? What are the nature and characteristics of this contingent? These are the fundamental questions which we must first make clear.

According to the Marxist theory about classes, intellectuals are not an independent class but a social stratum. In a capitalist society, viewed from the intellectuals' economic status, the situation is just as some comrades have already analyzed; most of them are brain proletarians employed by the capitalist; a considerable number consists of free professionals neither employed by nor employing others; bourgeois intellectuals who exploit hired laborers and usurp their surplus value make up only a very small number. The situation of the intellectuals in old China was similar to this.

Because of the particular nature of the form of Chinese society, Chinese intellectuals also possess characteristics which are different from those of the intellectuals in capitalist countries. We all know that during the 100 years and more from the Opium War to the establishment of the People's Republic of China, China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. During this entire historical stage, the basic contradictions in Chinese society were contradictions between the Chinese people and imperialism and contradictions between the masses of the people and feudalism; the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people all belonged to the realm of bourgeois democratic revolution. Under such historical conditions, the differentiation of the political stands of China's intellectuals was especially conspicuous. Among them there were roughly the following categories of people: (1) intellectuals of the landlord class who were doggedly willing to remain defenders or funereal objects of feudalism; (2) bureaucratic and compradore bourgeois intellectuals who lost their national self-respect and hence betrayed their country in exchange for glory; (3) bourgeois democratic intellectuals who were opposed to feudalism and who actively searched for truth from the West; (4) bourgeois liberals, or so-called "democratic individualist," who, in the face of the storm of the people's great revolution, still harbored illusions about the West and hence advocated the development of capitalism in China; (5) petty bourgeois intellectuals who once wavered in the midst of the great social change but ultimately joined the national revolutionary struggle; (6) communist intellectuals who emerged from the camp of petty bourgeois intellectuals (mainly students) to accept Marxism and actively lead and participate in the people's revolutionary struggles. Among the aforesaid categories of intellectuals the first two kinds obviously made up only a very small number; the third kind basically disappeared because of differentiation at the stage of the New Democratic revolution; and the last three kinds made up the great majority. Let us leave the communist intellectuals alone here and only talk about bourgeois liberals and petty bourgeois intellectuals; despite the fact that there were fairly numerous bourgeois elements in their world view, most of them bore the ideological inclination of being patriotic, believing in science and democracy, and wanting to pursue social progress. Precisely because of this, under the impact of the people's revolution the overwhelming majority among them were able to turn toward the revolutionary camp; in particular, the petty bourgeois intellectuals, with the vast ranks of youths and students and free professionals as their mainstay, were even more receptive to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. In the years when the liberation wars vigorously developed forward, the several million intellectuals living in the Kuomintang-ruled regions actively threw themselves into the anti-Chiang Kai-shek struggle and thereby produced democratic warriors like Wen Yiduo [5113 0001 1122], who did not even mind sacrificing his life in struggling for the birth of New China. After the liberation of the whole country, they again enthusiastically participated in socialist construction, with outstanding representatives such as Li Siguang [2621 4158 0342] emerging from their midst.

Spoken above was the historical situation about our intellectuals. Then, how about their present conditions? Among the country's 23 million plus intellectuals, those from the old society make up about 10 percent. In this category of people most are intellectuals who were employed by the capitalists in the old society, free professionals of the old society; some of them started to participate in revolutionary work during the early period of the democratic revolution; others are progressive personalities in a relationship of long-term cooperation with our party. An overwhelming majority of these intellectuals have become working personnel of the state or employees of enterprises and business units since the country's liberation. Among the 10 percent, there was indeed a very small number of bourgeois intellectuals; but after the socialist transformation of the capitalist industry and commerce, their class status also underwent a change and they began to stand in the ranks of laborers who live on their own labor. As for the intellectuals trained by ourselves since liberation (this part makes up more than 90 percent), because what they absorbed in school has been socialist education, and what they engaged in after graduation was again socialist revolution and socialist construction, they are naturally intellectuals of our own working class from whatever angle we might analyze them. This serves to explain that our intellectuals today, whether they are from the old society or they have grown up since liberation, have already become component parts of the ranks of the proletariat. Also, because they have mastered more scientific and cultural knowledge than others, and they have also been engaged in more creative work on various fronts of socialist revolution and construction, whether people recognize it or not, therefore, they are in the final analysis an indispensable, precious force in the ranks of the proletariat. As people of the whole country march toward the magnificent goal of the four modernizations, their role will become increasingly more fully visible.

But, for long periods of time there has prevailed a "Left" erroneous point of view which holds that, in essence, intellectuals are no other than "bourgeois elements"; that ever since the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production they have competed with the proletariat as ideological and cultural representatives of the bourgeoisie; and hence that these "bourgeois intellectuals" constitute a dangerous social force. That is to say, they were "the hotbed of revisionism" and "social base for the restoration of capitalism"; the knowledge mastered by them was the "capital" for them to launch their attack upon the proletariat; and a place where intellectuals were concentrated often suspiciously looked like a "Beethoven Club." In a word, intellectuals are considered as a force apart from the working class itself. Under the influence of this erroneous concept, intellectuals not only have not been given their due of confidence and reputation and the objective conditions for them to give full play to their role and to demonstrate their talents, but even have been subjected to exceptionally harsh blows during frequent and expanded class struggles. When ice becomes 3 feet thick, it is obviously not due to the cold of a single day. Nor indeed has the situation where Lin Biao and the "gang of four" sought to exercise

"total dictatorship" over intellectuals and conduct open, large-scale persecution and abuse taken shape all of a sudden. It was a result of the "Left" erroneous viewpoint and erroneous methods prior to the Cultural Revolution being pushed to the extreme under given historical conditions.

ii

There are undoubtedly certain reasons pertaining to the history, economy and even politics of Chinese society for the long-term existence of the attitude of depreciation and discrimination against intellectuals.

First of all, the influence of China's historical traditions. The history of China's feudal society was particularly long, and there was also a very great difference between China's feudal society as the supreme type of Oriental feudal society and the feudal society of Europe during the Middle Ages marked mainly by feudal partitioning of the land. The main characteristic of China's feudal society was: politically, it was basically a unitary centralized empire with a high degree of power concentration; economically, it practiced the Asian mode of production with the self-sufficient small-farm natural economy occupying the ruling position; culturally, it was an extreme feudal autocracy. Such social conditions determined that the feudal ruler (representing the whole society) needed only two kinds of people: one was individual peasants, tied down to small plots of land, whose principal duty was to provide taxes to the feudal state apparatus; the other was officials of various grades well versed in Confucian classics who actually performed the duties of priests or executioners assigned by the feudal ruling class. China's peasants never had any culture; they never had their own intellectuals and hence they naturally harbored doubt toward intellectuals. As for the feudal officials, they could only be selected from intellectuals of the landlord class. This situation further determined: the future of intellectuals was only to become operators of the feudal state apparatus; the whole society did not need to propose the demand for them to change production relations and develop social productive forces. Even though the order of "9th category, intellectuals; 10th category, beggars" was only proposed formally in the period when an alien race came in to rule over China proper, it nevertheless illustrated this fact; apart from those literati in the employ of the emperor, intellectuals were hardly worthy of the attention of the feudal ruling class. This social consciousness constituted one of the greatest historical inertias in China's feudal society; as a great aftermath of China's feudal society it was bequeathed to today's Chinese society.

Next, the influence of a heavy peasant consciousness. Our socialist society is not established over the ruins of capitalism, but developed from a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. In the process of China's democratic revolution, the chief forces of the revolution were peasants; the main content of the revolution was the resolution of the land problem, i.e., peasant problem; and war was the main form of the revolution. For

For this reason, even though our New Democratic revolution was led by the working class, because the stage of the revolution was the great territory of China under the heavy influence of a feudalistic consciousness and the chief forces were also peasants in military uniform, thus in the revolutionary ranks made up mainly of peasants, due to their psychological condition as small producers, the tendencies of sectarianism and closed-doorism easily emerged. As reflected in the question of how to treat intellectuals, these tendencies meant namely to lump all intellectuals together as a wing of the bourgeoisie, to have no confidence in the intellectuals' revolutionary character, to doubt the intellectuals' motive in joining the revolution, to exclude the intellectuals, etc. When it came to the socialist stage, therefore, such peasant consciousness as reflected in doubting and excluding the intellectuals could not be quickly eliminated because of the above historical and social causes.

More importantly, the backwardness of our economy and science and culture. During China's feudal period and until the year of liberation, China's economy remained stagnant without much progress, and its science and technology were also rather backward. The so-called national policy of "taking agriculture as the foundation, the blind anti-foreign dispositions or the adoption of an attitude of appeasement toward the economic invasion committed by foreign capitalism did not require intellectuals to make any contributions to the development of the economy and the development of science and technology. Nor, at the same time, did intellectuals have any social environment to devote themselves to the development of the economy or to research in science and technology. Hence, even though the differentiation of intellectuals from the ranks of physical laborers was a great step forward in history, the corrupt system of the Chinese society nonetheless succeeded for long periods of time in keeping intellectuals from the development of social productive forces. After liberation, our national economy was a developing one, but the country remained an undeveloped one. In addition, we adopted during this period an economic policy similar to one of "seclusion." The force of small-production habit still prevailed in a serious way in respect to economic construction. A salient reflection of this was that people failed to have a correct and full appraisal of the position and role of intellectuals in contemporary society or, namely, the great role of the development of science and technology in the elevation of social productive forces. Because of this, the practice of not paying attention to intellectuals and not being intent on solving the problem of intellectuals seemed rather natural.

Evidently, on the question of intellectuals we must still overcome the influence of certain historical traditions, political prejudices and forces of the old habit while trying energetically to eliminate the remnant poison of the extreme Left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

### III

Some comrades have failed to see the changed situation, and even today they still consider intellectuals as the objects of "unity, education, and remolding." This requires us to conduct an examination of the party's policy on uniting with, educating and remolding intellectuals.



The party's policy of uniting with, educating and remolding intellectuals was proposed after the country's liberation. At that time, the party's central task was being shifted from the countryside to the cities, and its focus of work was being shifted from war to construction; it should be said that intellectuals were more needed then than in the years of war.

On the other hand, there was indeed a definite complexity in the situation of these intellectuals. Apart from the reactionary intellectuals who attached themselves to imperialism and the bureaucratic and comprador classes, most national bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals exhibited a dual character: they were dissatisfied with the Kuomintang's reactionary rule on the one hand and they failed to understand the Communist Party on the other; they demanded science and democracy on the one hand and they were hesitant about following the socialist road on the other. But the majority among them possessed a strong patriotism; this was something to be most treasured by people in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. This was also the ideological foundation on which they accepted the party's leadership to follow the socialist road. In order to win over these intellectuals to serve socialist New China and gradually transform themselves into intellectuals of the working class, our party adopted the policy of unity, education, and remolding, i.e., to unite with the vast ranks of intellectuals, educate them to study Marxism, and encourage them to change their world view in the midst of struggle. Obviously, this policy was formulated on the basis of the actual condition of our intellectuals at the time; its main objects were the bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals from the old society. To unite with, educate and remold these intellectuals was a specified historical task at a definite stage of the socialist period; it assumed the nature of a united front. Along with the thorough execution of this policy and the triumphant completion of socialist transformation in respect to the means of production, the political stand underwent a fundamental change. In the midst of practice they recognized the truth that "only socialism can save China," and they therefore upheld the party's leadership, they upheld the socialist road and, on the question of actively building a socialist fatherland, they started to have a common language with the vast ranks of workers and peasants. This illustrates how the overwhelming majority of intellectuals from the old society had already become part of the working class. This was precisely clearly pointed out in the well-known report Comrade Zhou Enlai made on the question concerning intellectuals in 1956.

Logically, under such circumstances, the policy of "unity, education, and remolding" should have required some consideration anew along with the fundamental change that had taken place in the situation of the ranks of intellectuals. Yet, precisely under the condition when the overwhelming majority of intellectuals from the old society has already become part of the working class, and New China has also trained a contingent of the working class's own intellectuals, because of certain reasons known to everyone people were unable to insist on the Marxist principle of taking one's economic status as the criterion for classifying his class status; they chose instead to make impractical demands on intellectuals on the



basis of their world outlook. Because of this, intellectuals still have not been acknowledged to be part of the working class, and the policy of "unity, education, and remolding," too, was inherited alongside. This illustrates that the proletariat carrying out a certain policy of a united front nature toward a part of people of its own has for a long time been the artificial cause that created the problem concerning intellectuals. As for Lin Biao and the "gang of four," their deliberate attempt to promote their extreme Left line made increasingly more complicated a problem which could have been gradually solved, so that, in the end, it developed to the eventual point of no return with such unarrested momentum.

At the 1978 National Science Conference, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly and clearly pointed out in behalf of the Party Central Committee that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals had already become part of the working class and a contingent of forces on which our party would rely. This being so, the original policy of uniting with, educating and remolding intellectuals should no doubt be revised and replaced by a new policy. In reality, the Party Central Committee already proceeded to do so. But because: (1) much of our practical work (mainly in concretely solving working conditions and living conditions for intellectuals and in formulating ways to further give full play to the role of intellectuals, etc.) has not yet been able to catch up; (2) leading cadres of not a few departments and units up to this point are still applying the obsolete policy in treating intellectuals; (3) in our present work greater attention is paid to solving problems affecting old intellectuals and not enough concern is shown to the vast ranks of middle-aged and young intellectuals: all this prevents attempts aiming at solving the problem concerning intellectuals from striding unhesitatingly forward. Or it may be said that after parts of the problem are solved new contradictions have appeared, and full manifestation of the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of intellectuals has thus become affected.

Then, how are we going to give full play to the role of intellectuals in our four modernizations work? Much work remains to be done at present, but a question urgently waiting solution is this: We need to fearlessly promote those intellectuals who are really talented and learned, whose ideological consciousness is high, whose working style is forthright, and who concentrate on their hard work to the leading posts of various levels, so as to let more and more experts of various trades and various professions participate in the management of various enterprises of our socialist state. This is a requirement of our four modernizations work itself as well as an inevitable trend in historical development.

In a long period of time (specifically since 1957), the focus of our party's work was not shifted timely to the development of the national economy. In a certain sense, under the historical conditions of our work being thus centered on class struggle, consisting mainly of frequent political movements, the development of our national economy and advancement of our science and technology not being emphasized, the resultant effect of people looking down upon intellectuals was understandable. But now, a fundamental change

has taken place in our national situation and tasks. Going all out to handle our four modernizations work is the greatest politics of today. Under such circumstances, intellectuals are no doubt a contingent of principal force. Because intellectuals have mastered scientific and cultural knowledge and acquired various specialized talents. Concerning how to handle construction work according to objective economic laws, how to develop science and technology according to laws of the various scientific realms, and how to introduce useful experiences from outside of the country so as to help the whole party find the modernization path suitable to our national situation and questions of the like, they are all entitled to a greater right to speak. This being so, to promote those intellectuals who are really talented and really learned and whose ideological consciousness is very high to the leading posts of various departments and units should enable us on our modernization road to follow objective laws in doing things under all circumstances, reinforce our activism, overcome blind impetuosity, uplift efficiency in our work and thereby accelerate the process of our four modernizations work.

Fearlessly promoting intellectuals to the leading posts of various levels should also help change the situation where leadership structure and group composition of not a few units and departments are not adapted to the new circumstances of our four modernizations work, and thereby facilitate the discovery and training of talents. Because they are acquainted with intellectuals, understand intellectuals, and know how to give full play to intellectuals' intelligence and talent: this makes it possible for even more young intellectuals to grow up rapidly. If on the one hand we have our worker and peasant cadres assimilated by intellectuals and vigorously turn certain existing cadres into management experts well versed in business, and on the other hand fearlessly promote certain existing experts to become leading cadres: this way, very great changes are likely to take place in our cadre structure in not too long a period, and it will then be able to adapt to the developing situation of our four modernizations work. It may be said: to promote those intellectuals who are really talented and really learned, whose ideological consciousness is high, whose working style is forthright, and who concentrate on their hard work is an undertaking of strategic meaning for the realization of the four modernizations, and it is also the very first practical stride to be made in fundamentally solving the problem concerning intellectuals.

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CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

READER'S LETTER ALLEGES MISUSE OF EDUCATION FUNDS, MANPOWER

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jan 80 p 2

[Letter by XINHUA reporter Peng Zhankui [1756 0594 7604] in editorial section: "We Must 'Add Firewood' Not 'Remove Firewood'"]

[Text] Most recently, while gathering material in the Xizang Autonomous Region, I discovered that there are a few persons among all levels of the cadre in this autonomous region who are not giving sufficient stress to developing education in the minority peoples regions and who are even going so far as to "undermine the foundations" of education. The masses say that they are not "adding firewood" to educational activities but rather that they are "removing firewood" from beneath the cauldron of educational activities. This is manifested in the following ways.

First, labor targets and funds that should be used in education have been shifted to other areas, thus harming educational interests. In 1979, the Ministry of Education assigned 950 labor targets to the education department in Xizang, with more than 200 being apportioned to Lhasa. However, only a little over 50 were actually used in education. Milin County was assigned seven targets, but only one was used in education. In the use of educational funds, the situation is one of "using the oil money to buy vinegar." In some areas, counties have used educational funds for literature and art. In Sake County, things went to the point that the mud bricks and stones that the students and teachers of the middle school had prepared by their own labor to build 10 rooms were all taken by the county CCP committee organ to build a building for themselves.

Second, teachers and cadres of the education department have been transferred to suit convenience. In Sake County, there were 15 regular teachers. The county CCP committee organization department transferred nine of them to serve as administrators and communications officers in the county CCP organization and as working personnel in the court. In Gongke County, some teachers who had been teaching for many years and who had rich experience in education were also transferred away from the educational battlefield into other work.

Third, education and production have been set in opposition to each other. There are some leading cadres who do not understand the dialectical relationship between developing education and developing construction, stressing production but failing to stress education, giving serious attention to production but ignoring education. They say such things as, "If we don't stress production, there'll be shortages; but if we don't stress education, it can't be seen" and "Sheep are alive and have to be let out, while books are dead and you can read them anytime." Under ideological guidance of this kind, some of them treated students as members of the labor force, having them tend sheep during the day and allowing them to study at night. There were others who regularly assigned teachers to "central work." They even had the teachers collect sheep's wool and carry salt. They took holidays as they pleased and classes were commonly suspended. In Jiangmu County, farmland capital construction was carried out early this year. As the laborers did not have any places to live, they let out one school for four months, vacating it so that the laborers would have a place to live. This had serious effects on the normal development of education work.

These practices are not beneficial to the development of educational activities. It is my hope to draw attention to them and that corrections will be made as quickly as possible.

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CSO: 4005

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### EDUCATION WORK CONFERENCE DISCUSSES PRESENT, FUTURE EDUCATION POLICIES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jan 80 p 1

[Article: "Education Must Make Contributions to Fostering Persons of Talent for Establishment of the Four Modernizations; Ministry of Education Calls Education Work Conference To Discuss the Present Situation on the Educational Battlefront; All Representatives Hear Vice Premier Deng's Important Report on Problems of Conditions and Missions"]

[Text] AINWA 23 January, Beijing. The Ministry of Education held an education work conference from 5 to 23 January. At the conference, discussions were held on the current situation on the educational battlefront, experiences were summarized and studies were made of key points for work in the period lying ahead. At the conference, it was recognized that the 1980's would be the key period for the realization of the four modernizations in our nation and that a maximum effort must be made to do a better job of education work in our nation in order to contribute to fostering persons of talent for establishment of the four modernizations.

During the conference, all 7 the representatives listened to vice premier Deng's important report on problems of conditions and missions.

To the comrades at the conference he pointed out that in the more than 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," there has been a rectification of conditions on the educational battlefront, that a great deal of work has been done and that great accomplishments have been made in rotting out the pernicious influences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and in restoring the fine tradition and rules and regulations of education work and that there have been fundamental changes on the educational battlefront. At present, the conditions on our nation's educational battlefront are very good and our cause is progressing. We already have a considerable base. We have a corp of over 10 million education workers and we have a total of over 210 million students in schools. We should be filled with confidence and unite together with one heart and one mind so that we can continue to surge ahead courageously.

In conformity with the principle that practice is the sole criterion of truth, the participants in the conference discussed and analyzed both the positive and negative experiences in education work over the past 30 years. The representative concluded that, generally speaking, the line in education work in China over the greater part of the past 37-year period was correct and that major accomplishments had been made, a reliable foundation having been laid for the development of educational facilities in the future. The facts prove that over a 17-year period there was no such thing as the so-called "revisionist educational line of Liu Shaoqi" and that it was not the bourgeois intellectuals who we controlled the schools. During these 17 years, the students who graduated from schools at all levels have been the builders of socialism in our nation. The overwhelming majority of these people have become the backbone force for the establishment of the four modernizations.

The participants at the conference summarized four basic experiences. First, socialist educational facilities must be developed in a planned and proportional way. Second, policy for managing socialist schools must be based on upholding the principle of cultivating persons who are both red and expert. Those receiving education should undergo both moral and intellectual development so that they may become cultured with laborers with socialist awareness and so that they may become builders of socialist modernization. Schools of all levels and of all types must take teaching as their central concern and continually raise the quality of teaching. Third, the party policy on intellectuals must be correctly and resolutely carried out. The broad ranks of intellectuals are a part of the working class and are a force upon which the party relies. Party organizations at all levels must adopt an attitude of trust, concern and assistance toward the intellectuals. As far as possible, efforts should be made to improve their working and living conditions so that they can fully fulfill their functions. The continually increasing numbers of persons among the broad ranks of teachers should be had to establish a communist world view, to unite around the party more closely from day to day and to continue to advance in the direction of being both red and expert. Fourth, the leadership of the party in educational activities should be strengthened, as any practices that weaken the leadership of the party are harmful.

The participants at the conference point out that there are eight tasks that must be undertaken on the current battlefield of education: intensive strengthening of ideological and political work in the schools; continued expansion of elementary education; institution of reforms in the structure of secondary school education; a concentration of forces for managing key secondary and elementary schools and key technical secondary schools; the development of higher education; the active development of international scientific and cultural exchanges; the strengthening of education work in border areas and minority nationality regions; and the development of sparetime education. The participants at the conference concluded there are three basic areas of construction with which the battlefield of education must concern itself at present and in the future period, i.e., that attention



should be paid to developing a corps of qualified teachers, teaching materials and teaching and scientific instruments and equipment, and that these were important conditions for the management of education.

The participants at the conference also took part in specialized discussions on a number of concrete problems relating to management of higher education, general education, secondary technical education and adult education.

Minister of Education Jiang Nanxiang [5592 0589 5046] spoke at the conference. He pointed out that implementation of the system of division of responsibility for school heads under the leadership of the party committee in institutions of higher education has been demonstrated through practice to be comparatively well suited to our current situation. We consistently stress that, under the leadership of the party committee, we must give full play to the functions of specialists and teachers. Jiang Nanxiang said that we must demand and expect cadres engaged in education work, teachers and students to strive to be both red and expert. He said that at present there are some persons who hold the view that to be expert is to be red and that good work is equivalent to good politics, views he said that are incorrect. Being expert is not equivalent to being red but someone who is red must be expert. We must cultivate persons of talent who will maintain a socialist course and who have specialized knowledge.

More than 360 persons attended this education work conference, including persons in charge of educational administrative departments of various provinces, cities and autonomous districts, a number of persons in charge of universities, secondary schools, elementary schools, technical secondary schools and sparetime schools as well as some educators and model teachers.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### INCREASE IN EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE, INVESTMENT IN HUMAN INTELLIGENCE URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jan 80 p 1

[Article: "Many Specialists and Scholars in Financial Circles Point Out That China Must Lay Stress on Investment in Human Intelligence and Increase Cultural and Educational Expenditures"]

[Text] XINHUA Guangzhou cable of 26 January. At the Third National Symposium on Financial Theory that was held not long ago in Foshan City, Guangdong Province, many specialists and scholars pointed out investment in human intelligence was related to whether or not the nation can carry out the great task of the four modernizations. Our nation must stress investment in human intelligence and increase cultural and educational expenditures.

Before the symposium, the well-known scholar, Comrade Qian Jiaju (1878-1967 7467), took part in a fact-finding group of the National People's Consultative Group, which investigated the present situation of intellectuals in Shanghai. He said: At present, the quality of education in some areas has fallen. A major cause of this is that expenditures for education are too low. Comrade Teng Maotong (1926-5399 2717) of Anhui University said: From the standpoint of social reproduction, stressing investment only in material while neglecting investment in people devoting our attention solely to social material goods that can be seen and touched while not laying stress on the role of people in reproduction, which cannot exhibit its effects in a short period of time but which requires a long period of time to exhibit its effects, is a major cause of the long period of backwardness in our nation's economic and technological level. Comrade Ping Miao (1902-5678) of the Jiangsu Social Science Institute said: The fact that expenditures for education account for a very small proportion of expenditures under the national budget indicates that we have not laid sufficient stress in the past on the human factor, which is one of the three factors among productive forces. In the United States, with its population of 200 million, there are at present more than 15 million school and university students. The fact that we have not given priority to reproduction of our labor force is problem deserving of serious consideration.

General Li Haitong, 1921-1977, of the Ministry of Finance Scientific Research Institute said: Expenditures for culture and education should increase in proportion to the increase in the people's incomes. During the current survey period of the people's economy, we should consider paying back some of our outstanding accounts. Expenditures for culture and education are something we cannot get behind on. Otherwise, cultural and educational undertakings will not be able to undergo satisfactory development and it will not be possible to bring about the four modernizations easily and smoothly.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### COMMENTATOR CALLS FOR HEIGHTENING QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 27 Jan 80 pp 1, 3

[Observation by staff commentator: "Turn Toward All Students: Elevate the Quality of Education Across-the-Board"]

[Text] Beginning at the end of November 1979, this newspaper initiated a series of discussions over the question of how to turn toward all students. The discussions this time were initiated on the basis of carrying out discussion on the question of the criterion of truth in a deepening way. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the middle and elementary school front of this municipality has undergone a process of rectification, energetically exerted itself in effecting an elevation of the quality of our education, and as a result has reaped considerable achievements. But, in its practical work, it also has encountered some problems that require further solution, and how to realize giving attention to all students was a salient one among them. During these discussions, not a few comrades, basing themselves on actual conditions in educational circles in the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," expressed very good opinions and made many beneficial proposals. To gather together these opinions and proposals and carry them through will be inductive to pushing our educational work a big step forward in the new year ahead.

Turning toward all students is namely a question of how to enable those who are being educated to achieve an uplift in the moral, intellectual, as well as physical aspects in accordance with the party's educational principles so that they would become qualified personnel for the four modernizations. Because of the serious sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," youths and children became deeply affected by such ideas as "studying is useless," and the quality of their knowledge thus also was generally worsened. During these past few years, we have carried out admission on the basis of superior performance through a reform of our examination system and succeeded in mobilizing the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of youths and children for studying. But the situation of great differences existing between the cultural and knowledge levels of our students still remains unchanged. In addition, there has been a tendency in our work to pay attention only to the good students while remaining lax toward, or even abandoning, the

less preferable students. This led to the rise of how to take care of all students as a relatively salient question. Facts prove that if we do not solve this question in time, it is bound to produce serious consequences whether in the long run or just from the present point of view.

From the long-range point of view, to pay attention only to the good students while remaining lax toward, or even abandoning the less preferable students will not be beneficial to our four modernizations work or to elevating the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation. Middle and elementary school education is fundamental education. In view of our economic conditions and state of educational development at present those senior middle school graduates who are ready to be promoted to higher institution for further study would make up only about 4 percent of their total; about 96 percent of these senior middle school graduates have to participate in production and go to work. If the scientific and cultural level of the great majority of students is not very high, or there are even illiterates or semi-illiterates among them, then how can they master the production techniques for modernization and how are they to do well with our four modernizations work! Actually, among the youths who proceeded to participate in production or went to work during these past few years, some of them have already failed to adapt to the needs of production development because their scientific and cultural level was too low. Therefore, turning toward all students and elevating the quality of education across-the-board is a requirement of our four modernizations work, and a requirement for elevating the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese nation. We must treat this question from a strategic point of view.

From the current standpoint, looking after only the good students and lax toward, or even abandoning the less preferable students is a disadvantage to social governance and a disadvantage to maintaining a state of stability and unity. With respect to the less preferable students, if we discriminate against them or reject them, they are bound to lose confidence in their future and drift toward self-abandonment like "a cracked pot that does not mind being thrown around," and a small number of them might even embark upon a criminal path. A while ago, problems multiplied especially in Shanghai in the maintenance of social order. Among the youths and children who violated the law or committed crimes, students currently enrolled in schools made up a relatively high proportion. Many factors contributed toward this situation, but we cannot say that this had nothing to do with our schools remaining lax toward, or even abandoning the education of our less successful students. This situation of students exhibiting greatly different cultural and knowledge levels with a large number of less successful ones among them has been a bad outcome of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." If we do our work well, we should be able gradually to mitigate such a contradiction; otherwise, we may aggravate it. Our comrades who handle educational work must wake up to recognize this problem and pay more attention to it.

In order to effectively turn toward all students and elevate the quality of our education across-the-board, certain questions of cognition in our thinking must be resolved.

"Shall we continue to go after a high proportion of students advancing to higher grades?" Some comrades raised this question. Our answer is: It is still necessary to go after a high proportion of students advancing to higher grades in the case of entrance examinations for the higher institutions. Considering a high proportion of students advancing to higher grades as an important indicator for appraising the merit or demerit of the running of a school is not a bad viewpoint. An increase in the proportion of students advancing to higher grades--hence transmission of more and better students to schools at the higher levels--is no doubt indicative of achievement in the work of a school; its contribution to the four modernizations should be affirmed. During these past few years, every school sought to raise the level of its senior classes and therefore did considerable work in transmitting qualified students to the higher institutions; this cannot be negated.

Yet, we cannot, on the other hand, partially pursue such a high proportion of students advancing to higher grades. In essence, a high proportion of students advancing to higher grades is not necessarily something that can be achieved subjectively as one wishes. A definite high proportion of students advancing to higher grades is connected to a definite economic level. As has been said before, because we are restrained by our economic situation and the speed of development of our education, we can at present only have about 4 percent of our senior middle school graduates enter university. Under such circumstances, a partial effort to take as the target of struggle in a school's work the raising of the proportion of students advancing to higher grades would surely not be in accord with the objective reality we face, not to mention the fact that, apart from transmitting qualified students to schools at the higher level, our middle and elementary schools also shoulder the responsibility of transmitting qualified laborers in reserve to our four modernizations. How can we pay attention to only the 4 percent and ignore the 96 percent? But we must acknowledge that this practice of pursuing a high proportion of students advancing to higher grades still prevails at present. Some educational units and schools definitely take the posture of wanting to test their strength and put up a fight under the cry of "All for a Higher Proportion of Students Advancing to Higher Grades." Their eyes are fixed on the senior middle school graduating classes whose level is to be raised, while remaining lax toward those classes among them whose level is not to be raised and toward the non-graduating classes. This phenomenon is abnormal and should be corrected.

There are causes relating to school leadership and to the cognition of teachers and students' parents which contribute to this phenomenon of schools partially pursuing a high proportion of students advancing to higher grades, but there are also objective factors. For quite a while, some places have taken the size of such proportion of students advancing to higher grades as the criterion for arranging the order of names and appraising the quality of work. This brought great pressure on the school leadership and on the teachers, especially teachers of the graduating classes, and thereby also instigated the practice on the part of certain schools struggling all they



could to pursue a high proportion of students advancing to higher grades. Today, a senior middle school graduates number 7 to 8 million each year, while the higher institutions recruit only 2-300,000, so who can guarantee a high proportion of such advancing students to each school? In reality, from the point of view of an individual school, the proportion of students advancing to higher grades can only be very limited. Encouraging people to pursue a limited target as an unlimited goal is obviously bound to create an artificial atmosphere of tension resulting in undue pressure on everyone. As for single-mindedly basing the appraisal of the good or bad work of a school on the proportion of students advancing to higher grades, this obviously is also not comprehensive enough. The proportion of students advancing to higher grades is one of the important standards for measuring the quality of education, but hardly the only one. We must further start from training goals and tasks of the middle and elementary schools as such, and thereby examine the good or bad school work on the basis of achievements in the moral, intellectual, as well as physical aspects. Besides, there should ordinarily be some difference between the proportion of students advancing to higher grades from a key middle school and such proportion from an ordinary middle school. In the case of senior middle school graduates from 1980 on, in particular, key middle schools have recruited their entrants within the jurisdiction of the entire municipality or district (county), and their minimum admission points have all been set much higher; the proportion of students advancing to higher grades from any such school naturally should be higher than that of an ordinary middle school. If we arbitrarily compare proportions of students advancing to higher grades from schools with different minimum admission points, this would not be seeking truth from facts. And even in the case of a key middle school, its senior level graduates still cannot all enter a higher institution; there is therefore also a question of turning toward all students.

"Do we continue to pay attention to outstanding students?" This was another question proposed during the discussions. We say, not only must we continue to pay attention to them, but we must even pay still greater attention to them. Elevating the outstanding and selecting the superior and thereby strategically training students with a future of development is a firmly established and unchangeable principle in our educational work, because it facilitates early training of talents and fast training of talents. The fact that we now stress turning toward all students does not necessarily mean that we can remain lax toward the training of outstanding students. The key here also lies in how to handle well the relationship between the two. Paying attention to outstanding students and paying attention to all students are in a mutually complementary dialectical relationship. Only after the quality of all students is raised can more outstanding students emerge from their midst; the emergence of outstanding students can also inspire other students; neither should be neglected. Therefore, we cannot overlook other students simply because of our intent to pay attention to the outstanding ones. In respect to the outstanding students, too, we must not employ the artificial method of pulling the saplings upward in an attempt to help their growth; we must, instead, let them take shape on the basis of a general elevation of the level of students. As for the less

successful students, we must likewise not let them just "saddle through" to graduation. Man is always changing and developing. In the case of youths, children and students, in particular, they are not yet stereotyped and their impressionableness is great. If educated well, they too can change for the better.

In order to successfully turn toward all students, we must not only handle well the relationship between outstanding students and ordinary students but also handle well the relationship between reinforcing the graduating classes and taking care of the non-graduating classes. Some comrades said: "We have only so many key teachers, and we can hardly take care of them all." Today the strength of our qualified teachers is indeed relatively weak. But, according to the experiences of many schools, so long as we think clearly, make overall planning and make rational arrangements, these relationships can certainly be handled well. Relevantly reinforcing the graduating classes is not to be reproached. But if key teachers of the non-graduating classes are drawn away in too large a number or completely, that would be improper. The non-graduating classes should retain some regularly stationed key teachers in order to assure the elevation of the quality of education.

### III

Then what would be considered as having successfully turned toward all students and elevated the quality of education across-the-board? It looks rather hard to define a uniform criterion at present. Even though the country has a uniform teaching outline, the actual situation we face is that the students' levels of competence is uneven and irregular and the differences between the levels are great, with a considerable number of students falling below the requirements of the "outline." This raises great difficulties in our work. We can only insist on seeking truth from facts and starting from the actual situation of the students in carrying out teaching. Perhaps we can say that if as a result of our efforts we succeed in enabling all good medium and bad categories of students to learn something daily and to make some progress daily from their respective bases as well as in showing improvement in the moral, intellectual and physical aspects of their education, this would be the achievement in turning toward all students and raising the quality of education across-the-board. In order to meet this requirement, we must correctly handle well the relationships between the various aspects in our teaching work.

Are we going to acknowledge the differences and teach them differently or "treat them by the same cut" and "achieve three uniformities?" That differences should occur in the students' learning process is ordinarily a normal phenomenon in teaching. But because of the sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," such differences have been intensified and aggravated. Take the situation of the students in Shanghai today as an example, the development of the good, medium and bad conditions is very uneven, and the glaring difference between their levels of knowledge is unprecedented since the founding of our state. A very important point to keep in mind while teaching under such conditions is to face the differences squarely, start from

the actual situations of the categories of students, and teach them according to their respective competencies. Two years ago, some comrades were very anxious to achieve some results; they attempted to "achieve three uniformities" by applying uniform teaching materials, uniform requirements, and uniform progression schedules in the hope of reaping rich harvests across-the-board, but ended up with not reaching their goal because of haste. Although this situation has now changed for the better, similar practices still exist and they should still command our attention. Teaching activity is a complex movement of contradictions; the worst thing we must guard against is a metaphysical "treating them by the same cut." Even under ordinary conditions, we must avoid the method of simplification in making everything rigidly uniform, not to mention the fact that what we face is students with glaring differences between their levels of culture and knowledge; how can we "achieve three uniformities" under such circumstances? The correct method can only be one of starting from the actual situations of the different categories of students, adopting different approaches, and thereby gradually raising the levels of their politics and ideology and the levels of their culture and knowledge. Otherwise, we would be imposing uniformity, and the so-called elevation of the quality of education across-the-board would come to naught.

Are we going to proceed from the ordinary to the profound by following an order or drive fast in hopes of achieving a definite speed? To drive fast in hopes of achieving a definite speed is a concrete reflection of the idea of not starting from the actual situation in teaching. Some schools have divided their students into different classes according to their different cultural levels, but even in respect to these different classes teaching has not been differentiated and these classes have been held according to a uniform schedule of progression. Since everything has to be made uniform, this is bound to force part of the classes to depart from their actual situations and to drive blindly in order to achieve a definite speed. Practice has proved that to do this way will not result in any rich harvests across-the-board. Because knowledge has its continuity, the development of man's cognition also follows a definite law; learning can only proceed from the ordinary to the profound by following an order. Without laying a firm foundation, it is impossible for the student to absorb greater and more profound knowledge. In reality, driving fast in hopes of achieving a definite speed often leads to the opposite of what was desired. Some medium-class students have reflected that at the beginning they could still understand; but later, because the progression of the teaching was too fast, they could no longer catch up, and much of the new knowledge could only be forcibly gobbled down in a seemingly understood yet not really understood form. Still later, they would understand nothing and even lose confidence in learning itself. The existence of such a situation is precisely one of the important reasons why some schools still cannot shake off the state of passivity and confusion. Through pertinent discussion, this should attract our appropriate attention.

Are we going to place emphasis on improving our teaching methods and fostering the students' own perceptive capability, or increase their burden with

examinations, contests, and exercises? If we wish to turn toward all students, of course we must endeavor to enable everybody to master a little more knowledge of every subject. In order to mobilize the students' enthusiasm and lay a good foundation, appropriately giving some examinations and tests and having them do some more exercises is necessary. But the ultimate goal of teaching is far from just imparting some ready knowledge. It is even more important to foster the students' capability in independently analyzing problems and solving problems and to help give full play to their creativity while they firmly master basic knowledge. Some comrades maintained that the foundation of today's students is all relatively weak, and we can still hardly talk about fostering their capability. This way of putting the learning of knowledge and the fostering of capability in opposition to each other is incorrect. Capability cannot be separated from knowledge but this by no means requires us to wait until the students have mastered all knowledge before we can foster their capability. Actually, the "dual foundation" we have always stressed includes both basic knowledge and basic talent. Frequent tests and unending exercises on the surface look helpful toward the students' effort to master knowledge, but in reality only induce them to memorize and recite things by rote, so that what the students actually learn is no more than some stultified theorems and formulas. They are tired of coping with heavy burdens under such circumstances, and this will in due course result in suppressing their creativity altogether. This method is of course no good for the bad students, but it is even more harmful to students of good merit, because it will seriously affect their independent development in the learning enterprise. Therefore, those who resort to the "tactic of giving a sea of questions" in following a method thus just to increase the students' burdens actually violate the law of teaching; this would benefit neither a turn toward all students nor the fostering of talents. We must put forth efforts on improving our teaching methods and in raising the quality of our teaching.

To sum up, there is plenty of learning in how to turn toward all students which requires us to study seriously. On this question, not a few schools have already cumulated rich experiences after some practice and exploration. During the discussions this time, many comrades also summed up some successful methods. So long as we insist on the principle that practice is the only criterion for truth, are good at summing up experiences, and seriously handle our affairs in accordance with the law of education, it should be definitely possible for us to overcome various difficulties and achieve new results.

#### IV

Turning toward all students is a question that involves the whole situation; many problems in this regard must not wait just for the schools to solve them, but should attract the attention of the leading departments and units in education. For example, a salient reason for the fact that the students are over-burdened today is that the school system is too short. To solve this problem by extending the school system, however, is not something which the individual schools can do. How to divide the junior and senior middle



school periods, how to reform the middle school structure as a whole and problems of the like can also only be better resolved if and when the leading departments and units in education will formulate relevant plans and adopt relevant measures on the basis of pertinent investigations and studies.

Naturally, the area of involvement of these problems is very extensive, and there are also not a few difficulties. It will not be easy to find solutions. Decisions must not be perfunctorily made, especially on such important questions as the extension of the school system and the reform of the structure. During the 3 years and more since the smashing of the "gang of four," leading cadres of educational departments and units have ventured to emancipate their thinking, courageously returned to order from disorder, reformed the entrance examination system, rectified school work, carried out policies on intellectuals, reinforced ideological and political work on the students, and thus accomplished a great deal of work in reviving our educational enterprise. But we must see clearly that the remnant poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the educational front is still not entirely eliminated; many contradictions within the educational front are still in the process of becoming exposed. There are still not a few difficulties ahead of us. Therefore, in order to solve the many practical problems in turning toward all students, there is a similar need for us to emancipate our thinking and insist on the principle of seeking truth from facts. So long as we continue to do so and also carry out the mass line in our work, there will be ways to solve many of these problems. Take the extension of the school system for example, because developments in the various regions are uneven it is unrealistic to suddenly reform the school system. But, in view of the demands made on education by the prevailing situation and the needs of the four modernizations, this problem indeed cannot wait any longer. Take the reform of the middle school structure for example, furthermore, the task, generally speaking, must conform to the general situation and be subject to uniform planning and uniform scheduling; but certain other reforms may perhaps be undertaken first. In a word, where the whole situation is involved, we must adopt the principle of being both prudent and enthusiastic. We cannot overtake reality to do the kind of things that still cannot be done at present, nor can we maintain a negative attitude toward things that can be accomplished after due efforts are made. On the matter of solving practical problems in turning toward all students, most schools and teachers have demonstrated their enthusiasm. They hope the educational departments and units would strengthen their leadership, mobilize the masses to contribute plans and measures, warmly encourage schools in the various districts and counties to take concrete conditions into consideration and conduct reforms when such conditions permit, and thereby energetically push our educational work ahead.

In order to turn toward all students, we must further rely on the care of various circles in society and on the support of the students' parents. When formulating various measures of work, the concerned departments and units in society should see to it that they benefit the mobilization of the students' enthusiasm in learning; when recruiting workers and distributing work, they must carry out the principle of "selecting the most qualified." Students' parents must likewise pay attention to the education of their children, and do their share in conjunction with the schools.

How to successfully turn toward all students, this is a question urgently awaiting solution in our middle and elementary school education work at present. Through the discussions this time, participants have exchanged their views on certain fundamental questions, unified their understanding, summed up their experiences, and even more firmly consolidated their notion on turning toward all students. This serves to lay down a good foundation for our future work. It is hoped that all concerned will take this as their starting point and proceed to struggle for some advancement in this first year of the 1980's, so as to make due contributions toward raising a large contingent of fine talents.

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